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STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

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THE ORIGINS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC
ACCOMPANIED WITH ANNOTATIONS
GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC NOTES OF THE

KITÂB FUTÛḤ AL-BULDÂN

OF

al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri

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VOL. I

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INTRODUCTION

ARABIC HISTORIOGRAPHY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AL-BALÂDHURI

ALTHOUGH rudimentary elements of historiography can be traced back to the description of the "days", *i.e.*, the battles between the tribes, and such stories as the "Ma'rib dam", "the owners of the elephant" and the digging of the "Zamzam well"—all of pre-Islamic antiquity—, yet Arabic historical writing, in the strict sense of the term, is a branch of Islamic literature. Interest in Muḥammad necessitated the compilation of traditions (Ar. *ḥadīth*) relating to the life and campaigns of the Prophet and his companions. The communistic theocracy of warriors under the early caliphs, and particularly 'Umar's system of assigning state pensions to Moslems according to their kinship to the Prophet, gave impetus to the study of genealogy in which even pagan Arabs, who attached special importance to descent, were interested. The elucidation of passages in poetry, one of the earliest and most fully-developed modes of expression among the Arabs, and the necessity of determining persons and places referred to in their religious literature made philologists apply themselves to historical research. The three sources of Arabian history therefore are: (1) pre-Islamic stories, (2) traditions relative to the life and campaigns of the Prophet and the companions, and (3) genealogical lists and poetical compositions. The earliest books of history are: biography (*sīrah*), books of campaigns (*maghâzi*), and books of genealogy and classes (*ansâb wa-ṭabaḳât*). The domains of theology, law and history in their early rise overlap and are not sharply defined from one another.

No student of Arabic literature fails to be impressed with the fact that the bearers of the torch of learning among the Arabs were in most cases of foreign and particularly of Persian stock. This is to be explained by the fact that public opinion considered it contemptible for the Arab to busy himself with the pursuit of knowledge to the neglect of the noble art of warring. To this general tendency, however, studying anecdotes, transmitting traditions, and remembering stories—especially if they commemorated the deeds of heroes, orators and poets, formed a conspicuous example. We read in al-Mas'ûdî^[1] that Mu'âwiyah the founder of the Umayyad dynasty "devoted one-third of the night to the reading of the news and battles of the Arabs and non-Arabs." We also read in *al-Bayân*^[2] that al-Manṣûr the Abbasid caliph after long hesitation decided to put abu-Muslim al-Khurâsâni to death as a result of hearing an anecdote about Sapor

the Persian king. One of the favorite sayings in early Islam was the following found in *al-ʿIkd al-Farîd*^[3]: "For kings the study of genealogy and histories, for warriors the study of battles and biography, and for merchants the study of writing and arithmetic."

The chief source from which history writing flowed was tradition (*ḥadīth*). It was a pious custom that when Moslems met, one should ask for news (*ḥadīth*), and the other should relate a saying or anecdote of Muḥammad. Each event is related in words of eyewitnesses or contemporaries and transmitted to the final narrator through a chain of intermediate reporters. The authenticity of the reported fact depends on (1) the continuity of the chain and (2) the confidence in each reporter. Thus would al-Balādhuri start his narrative regarding the campaign of the Prophet against Najrân:^[4] "Bakr ibn-al-Haitham related to me, that ʿAbdallāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ related to him, on the authority of al-Laith ibn-Saʿd, on the authority of Yūnus ibn-Ziyād al-Aili, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said...."

This form of historic composition is unique in the case of the Arabs and meets the most essential requirements of modern historiography, namely, "back to the source" and "trace the line of authorities." The system, however, has its drawbacks in that it crystallized the record of events and rendered deviation from the trodden path sacrilegious. Aside from the use of judgment in the choice of *isnād*—the series of authorities—the Arabian authors exercised very little power of analysis, criticism, comparison or inference, their golden rule being "what has been once well said need not be told again." Aṭ-Ṭabari, in the introduction to his great work, gives expression to that principle, where, conscious of the exception that many of his readers might take to some of his reports, he pleads,^[5] "We only transmit to others what has been transmitted to us."

Another way of handling traditions is that in which the compiler combines different traditions into one continuous whole, prefixing a statement of his authorities or contenting himself by interrupting the narrative, wherever need may be, by citing the particular authority. While al-Balādhuri is an exponent of the former type and spares no pains in basing every fact, whenever possible, on an independent *isnād*, yet he sometimes resorts to the other method as he himself acknowledges in the first lines of his *Futūḥ* (p. 15): "I have been informed by certain men learned in tradition, biography and the conquest of the lands whose narratives I transmitted, abridged and pieced up together into one whole," etc. Where his store of authorities fails him, al-Balādhuri introduces his narratives by "they said," or "he said," or "it was said."

On a geographical basis, Moslem tradition may be grouped into two categories: (1) that of al-Madīnah as represented by Muḥammad ibn-Iṣḥāḳ and al-Wāḳidi, and (2) that of al-ʿIrāḳ. Notwithstanding the fact that al-Balādhuri lived in Baghdād, the tradition of al-Madīnah, which for obvious reasons is more reliable than that of al-ʿIrāḳ, forms the basis of his works.

History, whose domain in the time of the first four caliphs was not sharply defined, made its full appearance, and was recorded for the first time under the sway of the Umayyads. According to *al-Fihrist*^[6] Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān^[7] summoned from al-Yaman one, ʿĀbid ibn-Sharyah, and asked him about past events, histories of the Arabs and foreign kings and "ordered that the answers be recorded." This "book of the kings and past events," however, is lost.

The early favorite forms of writing history were biography, genealogy and description of campaigns. The oldest biography is *Sîrat Rasûl Allâh* written for al-Manşûr by ibn-Ishâk (d. 151/767). This we do not possess in its original form but only in the recension of ibn-Hishâm (d. 213/834). Genealogy borders on biography and, calling for elucidation, both lead on to history. Genealogical books were first written in the Umayyad period. The genealogical list served as an army roll. The study of tradition necessitated the study of the life and character of the reporter on whom the authenticity of the report depends. Thus the reporters were classified into classes (*ṭabaḳât*). The most famous writer of *ṭabaḳât* was ibn-Sa'd (d. 230), the secretary of al-Wâḳidi and the compiler of *Kitâb aṭ-Ṭabaḳât al-Kabîr*.

Campaigns playing an important rôle in the life of Muḥammad and the early caliphs soon began to assert their claim for special attention and were treated in special books. Besides, the necessity of recording and studying the campaigns arose from the fact that in levying a tax (*kharâj*) on the conquered land, those in authority were first confronted with the task of determining whether it was taken "by peace", "by capitulation", or "by force", and what the terms in each case were. This gave rise to many books on campaigns (*maghâzi*), one of the oldest of which is al-Wâḳidi's (d. 207/822). Some books were issued treating of the conquest of one city, most of which books have been lost. Given a number of books on the conquest of different cities, the next step would be to compile them into one whole. That step was taken by al-Balâdhuri—the last great historian of Moslem campaigns.

Before the Abbasid period no books on general history were attempted. In the golden age of the Abbasid caliphate and under Persian influence, historiography flourished and developed a new form of composition. The translation of such books as the Pehlevi *Khuday-Nama* by ibn-al-Muḳaffa' into the Arabic *Kitâb al-Mulûk*, coupled with the fact that the Moslem commonwealth was now richly recruited by Persian converts, made the idea of chronological collocation of events, for which the school of al-Madinah had paved the way, develop to the plan of a complete series of annals. The first to undertake such a history was aṭ-Ṭabari. Thus the historian who at the rise of Islam was a traditionist or reporter becomes now a chronicler. The annalistic method of aṭ-Ṭabari was followed by ibn-al-Athîr and abu-l-Fida.

Al-Mas'ûdi inaugurated a new system of writing history. Instead of grouping events around years as center, he grouped them around kings, dynasties and races. His system was followed among others by ibn-Khaldûn, but did not win so much favor as that of aṭ-Ṭabari.

The first record we have regarding the life of al-Balâdhuri is that of *al-Fihrist*.^[8] Other sources for his life are Yâḳût, *Muḳjam al-Udabâ'*, (pp. 127–132),^[9] and al-Kutubi, *Fawât al-Wafayât* (Vol. I, pp. 8–9, Bûlâk, 1283). Ibn-Khallikân refers to him on more than one occasion but does not give his biography.^[10] From these sources we learn that Aḥmad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Jâbir al-Balâdhuri was a native of Baghdâd descended from Persian stock. His grandfather, Jâbir, was secretary to al-Khaṣīb, minister of the finances of Egypt under the caliph ar-Rashîd. Aḥmad was an intimate friend of the caliphs al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'in and tutored 'Abdallâh, the brilliant son of al-Mu'tazz. He distinguished himself in poetry—especially satires, tradition and genealogy. The year 279/892 saw his death, mentally deranged as a result of drinking the juice of the anacardia (*balâdhur*); hence his surname al-Balâdhuri. Besides writing *Futûḥ al-*

Buldân, which is a digest of a larger work that has been lost, he wrote *Ansâb al-Ashrâf*,^[11] of which only two volumes are preserved, one in the Schefer collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale,^[12] and the other has been autographed by Ahlwardt.^[13] Al-Mas'ûdî^[14] quotes al-Balâdhuri's *ar-Radd'ala ash-Shu'ûbiyah* (Refutation of ash-Shu'ûbiyah),^[15] which book is also lost.

Of the works of al-Balâdhuri the one that claims our special attention is *Futûh al-Buldân*.^[16] The book shares with other books of Arabic history the advantage of tracing the report back to the source. Being a synopsis of a larger work, its style is characterized by condensation whereby it gains in conciseness but loses in artistic effect and clearness. Certain passages are mutilated and ambiguous. It is free from exaggeration and the flaws of imagination. Throughout the work the sincere attempt of the author to get to the fact as it happened and to record it as it reached him is felt. The chapters on colonization, soldier's pay, land tax, coinage and the like make it especially valuable.

The book does not escape the weaknesses common to Arabian histories. The "*ipse dixit*" which was a source of strength was also a source of weakness. Once the words supposed to have been uttered by a contemporary or eyewitness are ascertained, the author feels his duty fulfilled, and his function as a historian degenerates into that of a reporter. The personal equation is not only reduced but the personality of the author is almost eliminated, appearing only as a recipient of a tradition. Scarcely an opinion or remark is made. The intellect is not brought to bear on the data.

A weak characteristic of Arabic historians is their utter disregard of the social side of national life. Political history to them is history *par excellence*. It should, however, be said, to the credit of al-Balâdhuri, that while from a modern standpoint he is defective in that respect, still he stands superior to other historians.

As one reads *Futûh al-Buldân* and is struck by the fact that a long chapter is devoted to the "digging of the wells of Makkah",^[17] whereas the conquest of Tripoli, Africa, is dismissed with a few words,^[18] he cannot help feeling his sense of proportion suffer. Most of the two chapters entitled "The Founding of al-Kûfah"^[19] and "of al-Baṣrah"^[20] are devoted to the explanation of the names given to baths, canals and castles and only a small part relates to actual colonization.

One might also add that Arabic historians were not very sensitive on the question of indecency of language. In general the language of *Futûh* is clean, with the exception of the case of al-Mughîrah, the governor of al-Baṣrah under 'Umar.^[21]

According to Hâjî Khalfâ,^[22] the first writers on biography and campaigns were, among others, 'Urwah ibn-az-Zubair (d. 93) and Wahb ibn-Munabbih (d. 114); and we read^[23] that Muḥammad ibn-Muslim az-Zuhri wrote a book of campaigns. These works are all lost and the first biography we have is that of ibn-Hishâm (d. 213) based on ibn-Ishâk (d. 151). Az-Zubair and az-Zuhri, as well as ibn-Ishâk, are among the sources of al-Balâdhuri.

That in most cases the same tradition that underlies the life of Muḥammad according to ibn-Hishâm is made use of by al-Balâdhuri in the first chapters of his *Futûh* is made evident by a comparison of the chapters on the banu-an-Naḍîr, Khaibar and Tabûk.^[24] Al-Balâdhuri makes no mention of ibn-Hishâm but quotes ibn-Ishâk eleven times. The *isnâd* in Balâdhuri being longer, it might be conjectured that he did not get his material

at first hand from ibn-Ishâk's work but through subsequent reporters. Al-Madâ'ini lived from 135–215 (753–830). He wrote a "history of the caliphs" and a book of "campaigns", both of which are lost and are known only by excerpts through al-Balâdhuri, at-Ṭabari and Yâkût. Of these, al-Balâdhuri alone has over forty citations from him.

Al-Wâkidi (d. 207/823) wrote 28 books recorded in *al-Fihrist*,^[25] only a few of which have come down to us. Having lived at Baghdâd his works were certainly accessible to al-Balâdhuri, who quotes him on 80 different occasions and more than any other source. Most of the quotations are made through ibn-Sa'd, the secretary of al-Wâkidi, and one of al-Balâdhuri's teachers. A comparison between the campaigns against banu-an-Naḍîr^[26] and banu-Ḳuraizah^[27] in al-Balâdhuri, and the corresponding ones in al-Wâkidi's *Kitâb al-Maghâzi*,^[28] shows many points of contact but no absolute interdependence.

Ibn-Sa'd (d. 230) being the disciple of al-Wâkidi and the professor al-Balâdhuri acted as a connecting link between the two. In his *Futûḥ*, al-Balâdhuri has 48 citations from him, many of which were communicated by word of mouth and were recorded verbatim by al-Balâdhuri. In his book *aṭ-Ṭabaḳât (the Books of Classes)*, many striking similarities to the traditions of al-Balâdhuri are noticed.

Ad-Dînawari (d. 282/896) was another contemporary of al-Balâdhuri. He wrote a number of books of which only one of importance has come down to us, *i.e.*, *al-Akḥbâr aṭ-Ṭiwâl*.^[29] Contrary to al-Balâdhuri, al-'Irâk tradition is the basis of his work. It is probable that neither of the two authors was familiar with the work of the other.

In addition to these, al-Balâdhuri quotes many other authorities of whom the most favorite ones are: Hammâd ibn-Salamah, Bakr ibn-al-Haitham, 'Âmir ash-Sha'bi, Sufyân ibn-Sa'id ath-Thauri, 'Amr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâkîd and Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi, most of whose works are either unknown to us or have entirely disappeared.

The most illustrious writer on history after al-Balâdhuri was at-Ṭabari (d. 310). According to *al-Fihrist* and ibn-Khallikân, he traveled Egypt, Syria, and al-'Irâk in quest of learning and died in Baghdâd. At-Ṭabari makes no mention of al-Balâdhuri.

In the introduction to his remarkable work, *Murûj adh-Dhahab*, al-Mas'ûdi (d. 346) cites scores of books from which he drew his material, and among which he mentions al-Balâdhuri's paying it a high tribute in these words, "We know of no better work on the history of the Moslem conquests".^[30]

Not only did later historians draw freely from al-Balâdhuri but subsequent geographers used him extensively as a source. The remarkable work of Yâkût, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, reproduces a great part of the book. Muḳaddasi quotes him,^[31] and so al-Hamadhâni,^[32] and al-Mas'ûdi.^[33]

The above-sketched attempt to view al-Balâdhuri in his historic setting warrants the conclusion that the tradition recorded by him was mostly communicated to him by word of mouth and partly through books that have mostly been lost, and that it was a source for al-Mas'ûdi and Yâkût, and through them for many subsequent Arabic historians and geographers.

Footnotes

1. Vol. v, p. 77, Paris, 1869.
2. al-Jâhiz, vol ii, pp. 154–155, Cairo, 1313 A. H.
3. Vol. i, p. 198, Cairo, 1293 A. H.
4. *Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 98.
5. Vol i. p. 7, ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879–1881.
6. p. 89, ed. Flügel.
7. caliph 41–60/661–680.
8. p. 113, ed. Flügel.
9. Leiden, 1907, ed. Margoliouth.
10. See also de Goeje's introduction to al-Balâdhuri; and Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi*, p. 7 *seq.*
11. *Lineage of Nobles*. See Ḥâjji Khalifah, vol. i, pp. 455 and 274, ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1835.
12. De Goeje, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 382–406.
13. Greifswald, 1883. *Cf.* Nödleke, *GGA*, 1883, p. 1906 *seq.*; Thorbecke, *Lbl. Or. Phil.*, vol. i, pp. 155–156.
14. Vol. iii, pp. 109–110.
15. Goldziher, *Muhammedansiche Studien*, vol. i, p. 166.
16. ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1866. See Nöldeke, *GGA*, 1863, 1341–1349.
17. pp. 77–82.
18. pp. 355.
19. pp. 434–448.
20. pp. 346–372 in De Goeje's edition.
21. pp. 344–345 in De Goeje's edition.
22. Vol. v, p. 646.
23. In vol. v, pp. 154 and 647.
24. *Cf.* Hishâm, p. 652 and Balâdhuri, p. 34; Hishâm p. 779 and Balâdhuri, p. 42.
25. p. 99
26. p. 34
27. p. 40
28. pp. 353 and 371, ed. von Kremer, Calcutta, 1856.
29. ed. Vladimir Guirgass, Leiden, 1888.
30. al-Mas'ûdi, p. 14, Paris, 1861.
31. *Aḥsan at-Taḳâsîm*, 313.
32. *Kitâb al-Buldân*, 303, 321.
33. *Kitâb at-Tanbîh*, 358, 360.

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PART I

ARABIA

CHAPTER I

AL-MADÎNAH

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL, WHOSE HELP I SOLICIT!

The Prophet in al-Madînah. Says Aḥmad ibn-Yahya ibn-Jâbir:—

I have been informed by certain men learned in tradition, biography, and the conquest of the lands, whose narratives I transmitted, abridged and pieced up together into one whole, that when the Messenger of Allah emigrated from Makkah to al-Madînah he was entertained as the guest of Kalthûm ibn-Hidm ibn-Amru'i-l-Ḳais ibn-al-Ḥarîth ibn-Zaid ibn-'Ubaid ibn-Umayyah ibn-Zaid ibn-Mâlik ibn-'Auf ibn-'Amr ibn-'Auf ibn-Mâlik ibn-al-Aus^[1] in Ḳubâ'.^[2] So much, however, of his discourse was carried on in the home of Sa'd ibn-Khaithamah ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Mâlik of [the tribe of] banu-as-Sâlim ibn-Amru'i-l-Ḳais ibn-Mâlik ibn-al-Aus that some thought he was the guest of the latter.^[3]

Ḳubâ' Mosque. Of the *Companions* of the Prophet, the early *Emigrants* together with those of the *Anṣâr*^[4] who had joined him had already built a mosque at Ḳubâ' to pray in, prayer at the time being directed towards Bait-al-Maḳdis [Jerusalem]. Now, when the Prophet arrived in Ḳubâ', he led them in prayer in it. That is why the people of Ḳubâ' say that it is the one meant by Allah when he says "There is a mosque founded from its first day in piety. More worthy that thou enter therein."^[5] Others report that the "mosque founded in piety" is that of the Prophet [in al-Madînah].

Abu-Âmir ar-Râhib. 'Affân ibn-Muslim aṣ-Ṣaffâr from 'Urwah^[6] who gave the following explanation to the text: "There are some who have built a mosque for mischief and for infidelity, and to disunite the 'Believers,' and in expectation of him who, in time past, warred against Allah and his Messenger":—The mosque of Ḳubâ' was built by Sa'd ibn-Khaithamah and its site was owned by Labbah^[7] where she used to tie up her donkey. The dissenters therefore said: "Should we pray on the spot where Labbah used to tie up her donkey? Never. Rather shall we select for ourselves some other place for prayer until abu-Âmir^[8] comes and leads our service." Now, abu-Âmir had fled from the face of Allah and his Prophet to Makkah and thence to Syria where he was converted to Christianity. Hence the text revealed by Allah: "There are some who have built a mosque for mischief and for infidelity and to disunite the 'Believers,' and in expectation of him who, in time past, warred against Allah and his Messenger"—referring to abu-Âmir.

Rauḥ ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min al-Maḳri from Sa'îd ibn-Jubair:—Banu-'Amr ibn-'Auf erected a mosque in which the Prophet led them in prayer. This aroused the jealousy of their brothers banu-Ghanm ibn-'Auf who said, "If we, too, could erect a mosque and invite the Prophet to pray in it as he prayed in our friends'! Abu-Âmir, too, may pass here on his way from Syria and lead us in prayer." Accordingly, they erected a mosque and sent an invitation to the Prophet to come and pray in it. But no sooner had the Prophet got up to start, than the following text was revealed to him: "There are some who have built a mosque for mischief and for infidelity and to disunite the 'Believers,' and in expectation of him who, in time past, warred against Allah and his Messenger," the one meant being abu-Âmir, "never set thou foot in it. There is a mosque founded from its first day in piety. More worthy it is that thou enter therein. Therein are men who aspire

to purity and Allah loveth the purified. Which of the two is best? He who hath founded his building on the fear of Allah and the desire to please him," etc., referring to the mosque of Ẹubâ'.

Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim ibn-Maimûn from al-Ḥasan:—When the text, "Therein are men who aspire to purity" was revealed, the Prophet communicated with those who prayed in the mosque of Ẹubâ' asking about the meaning of the purity mentioned in connection with their name, and they replied, "We, Prophet of Allah, wash after voiding excrement and urine."

"The mosque founded in piety." Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim from 'Âmir:—Some of the people of Ẹubâ' used to wash with water the place of exit of the excrement.^[9] Hence the text, "They aspire to purity."

'Amr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâkid and Aḥmad ibn-Hishâm from Sahl ibn-Sa'd:—Two men in the time of the Prophet disagreed regarding the "mosque founded in piety," the one contending it was the Prophet's mosque, the other, the Ẹubâ' mosque. They finally came and asked the Prophet to which he replied, "It is this mosque of mine."^[10]

'Amr ibn-Muḥammad from ibn-'Umar:—The "mosque founded in piety" is the mosque of the Prophet.

Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim from Ubai ibn-Ka'b:—In answer to a question directed to the Prophet regarding the "mosque founded in piety," the Prophet replied: "It is this my mosque."

Hudbah ibn-Khâlîd from Sa'îd ibn-al-Musaiyib who said regarding the "mosque founded in piety" that the great mosque of the Prophet is the one meant.

A tradition to the same effect is reported by 'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh al-Madîni on the authority of Khârijah ibn-Zaid ibn-Thâbit and by 'Affân on the authority of Sa'îd ibn-al-Musaiyib, and by Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim ibn-Maimûn as-Samîn on the authority of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abî-Sa'îd al-Khudri's father.

Ẹubâ' mosque was later enlarged and added to. When 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umar entered it for prayer, he always turned his face to the "polished column"^[11]; and that was the place where the Prophet always prayed.

The Prophet arrives at al-Madînah. The Prophet spent in Ẹubâ' Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, riding away on Friday for al-Madînah. Friday prayer he performed in a mosque erected by banu-Sâlim ibn-'Auf ibn-'Amr ibn-'Auf ibn-al-Khazraj, that being the first Friday on which he led public prayer. Then the Prophet passed by the houses of the *Anṣâr* one by one^[12] and each one of them offered to entertain him. He kept his way, however, until he arrived at the site of his mosque in al-Madînah where his camel knelt.^[13] He dismounted. Then came abu-Aiyûb Khâlîd ibn-Zaid ...^[14] ibn-al-Khazraj who took off the saddle of the Prophet's camel. The Prophet took up his abode at abu-Aiyûb's.^[15] Certain Khazrajis invited the Prophet, but he retorted, "Man is where his camel's saddle is." He remained at abu-Aiyûb's for seven months. He took up his residence there after [Friday-] prayer, one month since his departure [from Makkah]. The *Anṣâr* presented to the Prophet all the unoccupied parts of their lands, saying, "O Prophet of Allah, take our own dwellings if thou wish." But he said, "No!"

The mosque of the Prophet. Abu-Umâmah^[16] As'ad ibn-Zurârah ibn-'Udas ibn-'Ubaid ibn-Tha'labah ibn-Ghanm ibn-Mâlik ibn-an-Najjâr, *Naḳīb*-in-chief,^[17] used to conduct Friday prayers for his Moslem followers in a mosque of his own in which the Prophet, too, used to pray. The Prophet, thereafter, requested As'ad to sell him a piece of land contiguous to this mosque. The land was in the hands of As'ad but belonged to two orphans in his custody whose names were Sahl and Suhail sons of Râfi' ibn-abi-'Amr ibn-'Â'idh ibn-Tha'labah ibn-Ghanm.^[18] As'ad proposed to offer it to the Prophet and to pay its price to the orphans himself. But the Prophet refused and paid for its price ten *dînârs*,^[19] which money he secured from abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq. By the Prophet's orders, bricks were prepared and used for building the mosque. Its foundations were laid with stones; its roof was covered with palm branches; and its columns were made of trunks of trees.^[20] When abu-Bakr became caliph he introduced no changes in the mosque. When 'Umar was made caliph he enlarged it and asked al-'Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib to sell his house that he might add it to the mosque. Al-'Abbâs offered the house as a gift to Allah and the Moslems; and 'Umar added it to the mosque.

In his caliphate, 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân reconstructed the mosque with stone and gypsum, making its columns of stone, and its roof of teak-wood. 'Uthmân also added to the mosque and carried to it small pebbles from al-'Aḳîk.^[21] The first caliph to plant in it *maḳṣûrah*^[22] was Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abi-l-'Âṣi ibn-Umayyah who made his *maḳṣûrah* of carved stones. No change was thereafter introduced in the mosque until al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân succeeded his father. This al-Walîd wrote to his *'âmil* [lieutenant, governor] in al-Madînah, 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz, ordering him to destroy the mosque and reconstruct it. Meanwhile, he forwarded to him money, mosaic, marble, and eighty Greek and Coptic artisans from Syria and Egypt. Accordingly, the *'âmil* rebuilt it and added to it, entrusting the supervision of its work and the expenditure for it to Ṣâliḥ ibn-Kaisân, a freedman of Su'da, a freedmaid of the family of Mu'aikîb ibn-abi-Fâṭimah ad-Dausi. This took place in the year 87, some say 88.^[23] After this, no caliph made changes in the mosque down to the time of al-Mahdi's caliphate.

According to al-Wâḳidi, al-Mahdi sent 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Shabîb al-Ghassâni and another^[24] descended from 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz to al-Madînah to reconstruct its mosque and increase it in size. The governor of al-Madînah was at that time Ja'far ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Ali. It took these two one year to carry out the undertaking. One hundred cubits [Ar. *dhirâ*] were added to the rear, making its length 300 cubits and its width 200.

According to 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini, al-Mahdi appointed Ja'far ibn-Sulaimân to the governorship of Makkah, al-Madînah and al-Yamâmah. Ja'far enlarged the mosques of Makkah and al-Madînah, the work in the latter being completed in the year 162. Al-Mahdi had visited Makkah before the pilgrimage season, in the year [1]60, and ordered that the *maḳṣûrah* be supplanted and that it be put on the same level with the mosque.

In the year 246, caliph Ja'far al-Mutawakkil ordered that the mosque of al-Madînah be repaired. Much mosaic was subsequently carried to it; and the year 247 marked the completion of the work.

'Amr ibn-Ḥammâd ibn-abi-Ḥanîfah from 'Â'ishah:—The Prophet said: "All districts or cities were conquered by force, but al-Madînah was conquered by the Koran."

The inviolability of al-Madînah. Shaibân ibn-abi-Shaibah-l-Ubulli from al-Ḥasan:—The Prophet said: "Every prophet can make a place inviolable, so I have made al-Madînah inviolable as Abraham had made Makkah. Between its two *Ḥarrahs*,^[25] its herbage shall not be cut, its trees shall not be felled,^[26] nor should weapons be carried in it for fight. He, therefore, who does that or harbors in his home one who has done so, may be cursed of Allah and his angels and all men. From him no repentance or ransom shall be accepted."

Rauḥ ibn-ʿAbd-al-Muʿmin al-Baṣri-l-Maḥri from abu-Hurairah:—The Prophet said: "My Lord, Abraham was thy servant and messenger, and so am I thy servant and messenger. And I have made inviolable all that lies between its two stony tracts as Abraham had made Makkah inviolable." Abu-Hurairah used to say: "By him who holds my life in his hands, even if I should find the deer in Baṭîḥân^[27] I would not care for them."

Shaibân ibn-abi-Shaibah from Muḥammad ibn-Ziyâd's grandfather (a freedman of ʿUthmân ibn-Mazʿûn and the holder of a piece of land belonging to the Mazʿûn family in *Harrah*) who said:—"Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb with his robe on his head would sometimes call on me at midnight, take a seat and converse with me. I would then bring him cucumbers and vegetables. But one day he said: 'Go not: I have made thee superintendent of this place. Let no one beat a tree with a stick [that its leaves may fall] or cut off a tree (referring to the trees of al-Madînah); and if thou find anyone doing it, take away his rope and ax.' When I asked him, 'Shall I take his robe?' he answered, 'No'."

Abu-Masʿûd ibn-al-Ḳattât from Jaʿfar ibn-Muḥammad's father:—The Prophet declared inviolable all trees growing between Uḥud and ʿAir, allowing [only] the driver of the water-carrying camel to cut *al-ghada*^[28] trees and use them for repairing his ploughs and carts.

Hîma ar-Rabadhah. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Zaid ibn-Aslam's father who said:—"I heard ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb say to one^[29] whom he placed in charge of *Hîma*^[30] ar-Rabadhah and whose name Bakr forgot, 'Stretch not thy wing^[31] to any Moslem. Beware the cry of the oppressed, for it is answered. Admit [to the *Hîma*] the owner of the small herd of camels and sheep but keep off the cattle of ibn-ʿAffân and ibn-ʿAuf; for if their cattle should perish they resort to sowing, whereas if the cattle of this poor man perish, he comes to me crying, "O, commander of the believers! O, commander of the believers!" To offer grass is easier for the Moslems than to offer money in gold and silver.^[32] By Allah, this is their land for which they fought in pre-Islamic time and which was included in their terms when they became Moslem. They would, therefore, certainly feel that I oppress them; and had it not been for the cattle [secured by declaring a place *Hîma*] to be used in the cause of Allah, I would never make a part of a people's land *Hîma*'."

Hîma an-Nakîʿ. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm abu-ʿUbaid from ibn-ʿUmar:—The Prophet declared an-Nakîʿ *hîma* and reserved it for the Moslem cavalry.^[33] Abu-ʿUbaid told me that it is an an-Nakîʿ [and not al-Bakîʿ, as some have it] and that the *ḥandaḳûḳ* plant [sweet trefoil] grows in it.

Musʿab ibn-ʿAbdallah az-Zubairi from Saʿd ibn-abi-Waḳḳâs:—The latter once found a young servant felling trees in the *hîma* [reserved land]. He beat the servant and took his ax. The servant's mistress, or a woman of his kin, went to ʿUmar and accused Saʿd. ʿUmar ordered that the ax and the clothes be returned. But Saʿd refused saying, "I will

not give up spoils given me by the Prophet whom I heard say, 'Whomever ye find cutting trees in the *hima*, ye should beat and deprive of what he has.'" From the ax Sa'd made a shovel which he used in his property to the end of his life.

Al-Ghâbah. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini from ibn-Ju'dubah and abu-Ma'shar:—When the Prophet was at Zuraib (probably on his return from the expedition of dhu-Ḳard) banu-Ḥārithah of the *Anṣār* said to him referring to the site of al-Ghâbah [forest], "This is the place for our camels to go loose, and for our sheep to graze, and for our women to go out." The Prophet then ordered that he who had cut off a tree should replace it by planting a small shoot. Thus was al-Ghâbah planted with trees.

Wâdi-Mahzûr. 'Abd-al-A'la ibn-Ḥammâd an-Narsi from abu-Mâlik ibn-Tha'labah's father:—The Prophet decreed in the case of Wâdi-Mahzûr^[34] that the water be shut off on the the surface until it rises to the two ankles, at which it should be conducted to the other place, thus preventing the owner of the higher property from holding the water from the owner of the lower one.

Ishâk ibn-abi-Isrâ'îl from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-al-Ḥārith:—The Prophet decreed in the case of the Mahzûr torrent that the owner of the higher property should hold the water until it rises to the two ankles, at which he must let it go to the holder of the lower land.

'Amr ibn-Ḥammâd ibn-abi-Ḥanîfah from 'Abdallah ibn-abi-Bakr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Amr ibn-Ḥazm al-Anṣârî's father:—The Prophet decreed in the case of Mahzûr torrent and Mudhainîb^[35] that the water be shut in until it reaches the two ankles, then the upper supplies the lower. According to Mâlik, the Prophet passed a similar judgment in the case of Baṭîḥân torrent.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad al-'Ijli from abu-Mâlik ibn-Tha'labah ibn-abi-Mâlik's father:—The Prophet was called upon to decide in the case of Mahzûr, the valley of banu-Ḳuraizah, upon which he decreed that water rising above the two ankles cannot be shut in by the higher owner from the lower owner.

Al-Ḥusain from Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad's father:—The Prophet decreed in the case of Mahzûr torrent that the owners of palm trees have right to the ankle-high water, sowers have right to the water as high as the two straps of the sandal, after which the water is sent to the lower owners.

Ḥafs ibn-'Umar ad-Dûri from 'Urwah:—The Prophet said: "Baṭîḥân is one of the channels of Paradise."

'Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ'ini abu-l-Ḥasan from Ju'dubah and others:—In the caliphate of 'Uthmân, al-Madînah was threatened with destruction by the Mahzûr torrent, which necessitated the erection of a dam by 'Uthmân. Abu-l-Ḥasan added that in the year 156 the torrent brought a terrifying volume of water. The governor at that time. 'Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad ibn-'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs, sent 'Ubaidallâh ibn-abi-Salamah-l-'Umri who, with a big crowd, started after the afternoon prayer to see the torrent which had, by that time, covered the *ṣadaḳah*-lands^[36] of the Prophet. An old woman from al-'Âliyâh-region^[37] pointed out to them a spot to which she had often heard people refer. There they dug and the water found exit through which it passed to *Wâdi-Baṭîḥân*. From Mahzûr to Mudhainîb is a water-course which empties its water in it.

The Prophet calls al-Madînah Ṭaybah. Muḥammad ibn-Abân al-Wâsiṭi from al-Ḥasan:—The Prophet invoked Allah's blessing on al-Madînah and its inhabitants calling it Ṭaybah.^[38]

Abu-ʿUmar Ḥafṣ ibn-ʿUmar ad-Dûri from ʿÂ'ishah, *the mother of the believers*:—When the Prophet emigrated to al-Madînah, a disease spread among the Moslems in it. Among those taken seriously ill were abu-Bakr, Bilâl and ʿÂmir ibn-Fuhairah. During his illness, abu-Bakr often repeated the following verse:^[39]

"One in the morning may lie amidst his family
and death may be nearer to him than his sandal's strap."^[40]

Bilâl often repeated the following:

"O, would I that I spent a night
at Fakh where *idhkhir* and *jalîl*^[41] plants surround me!
And would that I some day visit Majannah-water to drink it,
and see Shâmah and Ṭafil [Mts.]!"

ʿÂmir ibn-Fuhairah used to repeat the following :

"I have found death before I tasted it,
verily the death of the coward comes from above.^[42]
[Man struggles according to his own ability,]
like the bull that protects his skin with his horn."^[43]

This was reported to the Prophet and he prayed: "Make al-Madînah, O Allah, wholesome for us as thou hast made Makkah for us, and bless for us its *ṣâ'* and *mudd*^[44] [grain measures]!"

The water-course of al-Harrah. Al-Walîd ibn-Şâlih from ʿUrwah: One—of the *Anṣâr* had a dispute with az-Zubair ibn-al-ʿAuwâm regarding the water-courses that run from al-Harrah to the plain. The Prophet said, "Zubair, use the water, then turn it to thy neighbor."^[45]

Al-ʿAḳîḳ as fief. Ḥusain ibn-ʿAli ibn-al-Aswad al-ʿIjli from Hishâm ibn-ʿUrwah's father:—As ʿUmar was parcelling al-ʿAḳîḳ into fiefs, he came to a part of it regarding which he remarked, "I never gave such a land in fief." To this Khauwât ibn-Jubair replied, "Give it out to me." And ʿUmar did.

Al-Ḥusain from Hishâm ibn-ʿUrwah's father:—ʿUmar gave al-ʿAḳîḳ in fief from its upper to its lower end.

Al-Ḥusain from Hishâm ibn-ʿUrwah:—ʿUmar accompanied by az-Zubair set out to distribute fiefs, and as ʿUmar was giving them out, he passed by al-ʿAḳîḳ and said: "Where are the seekers of fiefs? I have not yet today passed by a more fertile land." Az-Zubair said: "Give it out to me." And ʿUmar did.

A similar tradition was communicated by al-Ḥusain from Hishâm ibn-ʿUrwah's father.

Khalaf ibn-Hishâm al-Bazzâr from Hishâm ibn-‘Urwah's father who said:—"Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb gave out as fief to Khauwât ibn-Jubair al-Anṣârî a piece of dead land. This we bought from him."

A similar tradition was communicated to me by al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad on the authority of Hishâm's father.

Other fiefs. Al-Ḥusain from ‘Urwah:—Abu-Bakr gave out as fief to az-Zubair the land lying between al-Jurf^[46] and Ḳanâh.^[47] Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ‘îni told me that Ḳanâh is a valley stretching from aṭ-Ṭâ‘if to al-Arḥaḍīyah and Ḳarkarat al-Kudr and thence it comes to Sudd-Ma‘ûnah from which it runs by the end of al-Ḳadûm and ends at the head of *Ḳubûr ash-Shuhadâ* [martyrs' tombs] at Uḥud.

Abu-‘Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from certain learned men:—The Prophet gave out as fief to Bilâl ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Muzani certain mines^[48] in the Furu‘ district.

‘Amr an-Nâkid and ibn-Sahm al-Antâki from abu-‘Ikrimah the freedman of Bilâl ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Muzani:—The Prophet gave out as fief to Bilâl a piece of land having a mountain and mines. The sons of Bilâl sold a part of it to ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz in which one mineral (or he may have said two) appeared. The sons of Bilâl thereupon said: "What we sold thee is not the minerals but the tillable land." Then they brought forth a statement written for them by the Prophet on a palm leaf which ‘Umar kissed and with which he rubbed his eye saying to his steward: "Find out what the income and the expenses are, retain what thou hast expended, and give them back the balance."

Abu-‘Ubaid from Bilâl ibn-al-Ḥârith:—The Prophet gave out all al-‘Akîk as fief to Bilâl.

The zakât on the metals. Mus‘ab az-Zubairi from Mâlik ibn-Anas:—The Prophet assigned as fief to Bilâl ibn-al-Ḥârith certain mines in the Furu‘ district. On this, all our learned men agree. Nor do I know of any disagreement among our followers regarding the fact that in the case of mines the *zakât* is one-fourth of the tithe. It is reported that az-Zuhri often repeated that in the case of mines *zakât* is binding. It is moreover reported that he said that the *zakât* is one-fifth. That is what the people of al-‘Irâk say who at present impose on the mines of al-Furu‘, Najrân, dhu-l-Warwah, Wâdi-l-Ḳura and others one-fifth in accordance with the view of Sufyân ath-Thauri, abu-Ḥanîfah, abu-Yûsuf and the school of al-‘Irâk.^[49]

‘Ali's fiefs. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Ja‘far ibn-Muḥammad:—The Prophet assigned to ‘Ali as fief four pieces of land, i. e., the two Fuḳairs, Bi‘r-Ḳais, and ash-Shajarah.^[50]

A similar tradition was communicated to me by al-Ḥusain on the authority of Ja‘far ibn-Muḥammad.

‘Amr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâkid from Ja‘far ibn-Muḥammad's father:—‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb assigned to ‘Ali as fief Yanbu‘,^[51] and another piece was added to it.

A similar tradition was communicated to me by al-Ḥusain on the authority of Ja‘far ibn-Muḥammad's father.

The well of ‘Urwah, the reservoir of ‘Amr and the canal of Banât-Nâ‘ilah, etc. The next tradition was communicated to me by one in whom I trust on the authority of Mus‘ab ibn ‘Abdallâh az-Zubairi:—The well of ‘Urwah ibn-az-Zubair is named after ‘Urwah ibn-

az-Zubair; the 'Amr reservoir is named after 'Amr ibn-az-Zubair; the canal of Banât-Nâ'ilah is named after children of Nâ'ilah, daughter of al-Farâfiṣah-l-Kalbîyah and wife of 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân ('Uthmân had taken possession of this canal and conveyed its water to a piece of land at al-'Arṣah^[52] which he cultivated and worked); the land of abu-Hurairah is ascribed to abu-Hurairah ad-Dausi; and aṣ-Ṣahwah in Mt. Juhainah is the *ṣadaqah* of 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abbâs.

Kaṣr-Nafis. It is said that the Nafis castle is ascribed to Nafis at-Tâjir [the merchant] ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zaid ibn-'Ubaid ibn-al-Mu'alla ibn-Laudhân ibn-Hâarithah ibn-Zaid of al-Khazraj, the allies of banu-Zuraik ibn-'Abd-Hâarithah of al-Khazraj. This castle stands in Ḥarrat-Wâkim at al-Madînah. 'Ubaid ibn-al-Mu'alla died as martyr in the battle of Uḥud. Others say it is Nafis ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zaid ibn-'Ubaid ibn-Murrah, Mu'alla's freedman. This 'Ubaid and his father were among the captives of 'Ain at-Tamr. 'Ubaid ibn-Murrah died in the battles of al-Ḥarrah. His surname was abu-'Abdallâh.

Ā'ishah well. The 'Ā'ishah well is ascribed to 'Ā'ishah ibn-Numair ibn-Wâkif, 'Ā'ishah being a man's name of al-Aus.

Al-Muṭṭalib well and al-Murtafi' well. Al-Muṭṭalib well on the 'Irâk road is ascribed to al-Muṭṭalib ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Ḥanṭab ibn-al-Hâarith ibn-'Ubaid ibn-'Umar ibn-Makhzûm. Ibn-al-Murtafi' well is ascribed to Muḥammad ibn-al-Murtafi' ibn-an-Naḍir al-'Abdari.

The Sûk in al-Madînah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Atâ ibn-Yasâr, the freedman of Maimûnah, daughter of al-Hâarith ibn-Ḥazn ibn-Bujair of al-Hilâl tribe:—When the Prophet wanted to found a market in al-Madînah he said: "This is your market and no *kharâj* will be assessed on it."

The 'Arim dam. Al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his grandfather and Sharḳi ibn-al-Ḳuṭâmi-l-Kalbi:—When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem,^[53] expelled of the Israelites those whom he expelled, and carried away those whom he carried into captivity, some Israelites fled away to al-Hijâz and settled in Wâdi-l-Ḳura, Taima', and Yathrib. At that time there lived in Yathrib a tribe of Jurhum and a remnant of al-'Amâlîk who lived on date-planting and wheat-growing. Among these, the Israelites settled and associated with them, and kept increasing in number, as Jurhum and al-'Amâlîk were decreasing, until the former drove the latter from Yathrib and established their authority over it, taking possession of their cultivated and pasture lands. This was their condition for a long time. Then it came to pass that those of the people of al-Yaman descended from Saba ibn-Yashjub ibn-Ya'rub ibn-Ḳaḥṭân were filled with the spirit of oppression and tyranny and ignored the grace of their God in regards to the fertility and luxury he bestowed on them. Consequently, Allah created rats that began to bore the dam, which stood between two mountains and had pipes which the people could open when they wished and get as much water as they wanted. This is the 'Arim dam.^[54] The rats went on working on the dam until it was broken-through. Thus did Allah let their gardens sink and their trees disappear, changing them into *khamt*,^[55] tamarisk and some few jujube trees.^[56]

The wanderings of al-Azd. Seeing what happened, Muzaikîyah i. e. 'Amr ibn-'Āmir ... ibn-Amru'i-l-Ḳais ... ibn-Ya'rub ibn-Ḳaḥṭân sold all the property and cattle he possessed, summoned the Azd and started together to the land of the tribe of 'Akk. There they settled. 'Amr remarked: "To seek herbage before knowledge is weakness."

The tribe of 'Akk were distressed at the fall of their best lands into the hands of al-Azd and asked the latter to evacuate the land. Thereupon a one-eyed and deaf man of al-Azd, named Jidh', made an attack on a 'Akk party and destroyed them. This resulted in a war between al-Azd and 'Akk. The Azd, after being defeated, returned and charged, in reference to which Jidh' composed the following verse:

"We are the descendants of Mâzin—there is no doubt,
the Ghassân of Ghassân versus the 'Akk of 'Akk,
and they shall see whether we or they are the weaker."

(Previous to this al-Azd had settled near a spring called Ghassân. Hence their name, Ghassân.)^[57] Al-Azd now set off until they arrived in the land of Ḥakam ibn-Sa'd al-'Ashîrah ... ibn Ya'rub ibn-Ḳaḥṭân. There they fought and won the victory over Ḥakam. But it occurred to them to move, and they did, leaving a small band behind. The next place they came to was Najrân. Here they met resistance from the inhabitants of the place but finally won the victory. After settling in Najrân they departed with the exception of a few who had special reasons to stay. Al-Azd then arrived in Makkah which was populated with the Jurhum tribe. They made their abode in Baṭn-Marr. Tha'labah the son of 'Amr Muzaikîya demanded of Jurhum that the plain of Makkah be given to his people. This request having been refused, a battle ensued in which Tha'labah got control of the plain. Tha'labah and his people, however, realized after this that the place was unwholesome, and found it hard to make their living in it; so they dispersed, one band of them leaving for 'Umân, another for as-Sarât, another for al-Anbâr and al-Ḥîrah, another for Syria and one band chose Makkah for abode. This made Jidh' say: "Every time ye go to a place, ye al-Azd, some of you detach^[58] themselves from the rest. Ye are on the point of becoming the tail among the Arabs." That is why those who settled in Makkah were called Khuzâ'ah.^[59] Then came Tha'labah ibn-'Amr Muzaikîya with his son and followers to Yathrib whose people were Jews. They settled outside the city where they grew and increased in number and became so strong as to drive the Jews from Yathrib. Thus they came to live inside the city and the Jews outside of it.

Al-Aus and al-Khazraj. Al-Aus and al-Khazraj are the sons of Ḥârithah ibn-Tha'labah^[60] ibn-'Amr Muzaikîya ibn-'Âmir, and their mother was Ḳailah, daughter of al-Arḳam. Some say she was a Ghassanide of al-Azd tribe, others say she was of 'Udhrah tribe.

In pre-Islamic times, the Aus and the Khazraj saw many battles which made them trained in warfare. They became so used to fighting that their valor spread far, their courage became well known, their bravery was often cited and their name became a source of terror in the hearts of the Arabs, who feared them. Their possessions were well guarded against encroachment, and their neighbor was well protected; and all that was preparatory to the fact that Allah wanted to have them support his Prophet and to honor them by lending him aid.

It is reported that at the arrival of the Prophet in al-Madînah he wrote an agreement and made a covenant with the Jews of Yathrib.^[61] The Jews of Ḳainukâ', however, were the first to violate the covenant, and the Prophet expelled them from al-Madînah. The first land that the Prophet conquered was that of the banu-an-Naḍîr.

Footnotes

1. Ibn-Ḥajar, *Kitâb al-Iṣâbah*, vol. iii, pp. 613–614.
2. A suburb of al-Madînah; see Yâkût, *Muʿjam al-Buldân*, vol. iv, pp. 23–24.
3. Ibn-Hishâm, *Sîrat Rasûl Allâh*, p. 334.
4. The Helpers—originally applied to the early converts of al-Madînah.
5. Koran, 9:109.
6. The series of authorities introducing a tradition have been cut short throughout the translation, only the first and last authorities being mentioned.
7. "Lajja" in F. Wüstenfeld, *Geshichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 131.
8. Ibn-Hishâm, pp. 561–562; and *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 53.
9. Cf. az-Zamakhshari, *Kashshâf*, vol. i, p. 564 (ed. Lees).
10. Baiḍâwî, *Anwâr at-Tanzîl*, vol. i, p. 401.
11. *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 65.
12. Ibn-Hishâm, p. 336.
13. Ibn-Saʿd, *Kitâb at-Ṭabaḳât*, vol. i¹, p. 160.
14. In this and in other cases to come, the genealogical table has been cut short in the translation.
15. Ad-Diyârbakri, *al-Khamîs*, vol. i, p. 386.
16. *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 60.
17. *Naḳîb* is the superintendent of a people who takes cognizance of their actions and is responsible for them; ibn-Ḥajar, vol. i, pp. 61–63.
18. Ibn-Hishâm, p. 503.
19. A gold coin worth about ten shillings.
20. Al-Hamadhâni, *Kitâb al-Buldân*, p. 24.
21. Hamadhâni, *Kitâb al-Buldân*, p. 25.
22. See JAOS., vol. xxvii, pp. 273–274, Gottheil, "a distinguished family of Fatimite Cadis"; and *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 71.
23. *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 73.
24. ʿAbdallâh ibn-ʿÂṣim; De Goeje's edition of *Balâdhuri*, p. 7, note b.
25. The word means tracts of black stones, i. e., the volcanic region in the vicinity of al-Madînah.
26. Al-Bukhârî, *al-Jâmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, vol. i, p. 40.
27. Also Baṭḥân or Buṭḥân; see al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifat Jazîrat al-ʿArab*, p. 124, line 9.
28. "Of the genus Euphorbia with a woody stem, often 5 or 6 ft. in height, and innumerable round green twigs"—Palgrave's *Travels*, vol. i, p. 38.
29. Whose name was Hunai; Bukhârî, vol. ii, p. 263.
30. Reservation, pasture land reserved for the public use of a community or tribe to the exclusion of everyone else. Rabadhah was a district and a village 5 miles from al-Madînah.
31. Treat leniently, see ibn-al-Athîr, *an-Nihâyah*, vol. iii, p. 26.
32. i. e., it is easier to let the owner of the little herd feed his flock on the *Hima* than to give him money for sustaining his children.
33. *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 155; Wâḳidi, *Kitâb al-Maghâzi*, pp. 183–184. Naḳîʿ lay 20 parasangs from Madînah.
34. One of the valleys of Madînah, see al-Bakri, *Kitâb Muʿjam Ma-s-taʿjam*, vol. ii, p. 562.
35. "Mudhainib" in al-Bakri, pp. 518, 562.

36. Mawardi, *al-Aḥkām as-Sultānīyah*, p. 292. *Ṣadaqah* is a portion which a man gives from his property to the poor by way of propitiation. It is primarily superogatory, whereas *zakāt* is obligatory.
37. Yâḳût, s.v. 'Âliyah.
38. Al-Hamadhâni, *Kitâb al-Buldân*, p. 23; *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 10.
39. Hishâm, p. 414; Azraqi, *Akhbâr Makkah*, p. 383.
40. Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. i, p. 492, no. 63.
41. *Idhkhîr* a small plant of sweet smell used for roofing houses. *Jalîl* a weak plant with which the interstices of houses are stopped up.
42. Freytag, *Proverbia*, vol. i, p. 7, no. 10.
43. Az-Zamakhshari, *al-Fâ'ik*, vol. ii, pp. 5–6.
44. Wâḳidi, *al-Maghâzi*, p. 14; al-Azraqi, p. 382.
45. One tradition occurring here and defining certain terms in the previous tradition has been omitted in the translation. Evidently it is a gloss.
46. Called 'Arṣat al-Baqal in al-Wâḳidi's days, see Wâḳidi, tr. Wellhausen, pp. 103–104.
47. A valley near Mount Thaib, one day's journey from Madînah.
48. The mines of al-Ḳabaliyah, see al-Muṭarrizi, *Kitâb al-Mughrib*, vol. ii, p. 108.
49. Mâlik ibn-Anas, *al-Mudawwanah*, vol. ii, p. 47; ash-Shâfi'i, *Kitâb al-Umm*, vol. ii², p. 36.
50. Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 260–261.
51. Yâḳût, vol. iv, pp. 1038–1039.
52. See Yâḳût, *al-Mushtarik*, p. 159.
53. Bait al-Maḳdis or al-Bait al-Muḳaddas. See ibn-Khurdâdhbih, *Kitâb al-Masâlik*, pp. 78 and 79.
54. Koran, 34: 15.
55. A tree with bitter fruit.
56. GGA, 1863, p. 1348.
57. Near Sudd-Ma'rib in al-Yaman; Hishâm, p. 6.
58. Ar. *inkhaza'a*, see *an-Nihâyah* under *khaza'a*.
59. Azraqi, p. 55.
60. Hishâm, p. 140; *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 56.
61. One of the names of Madînah.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 2

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CHAPTER II

THE POSSESSIONS OF THE BANU-AN-NAḌĪR

Banu-an-Naḍîr besieged. The Prophet once accompanied by abu-Bakr, ‘Umar and Usaid ibn-Ḥudair came to the banu-an-Naḍîr who were Jews and solicited their aid for raising the bloodwit of two men of the banu-Kilâb ibn-Rabî‘ah who had made peace with him and who were killed by ‘Amr ibn-Umaiyyah aḍ-Ḍamri.^[1] The Jews intended to drop a stone on him but the Prophet left them and sent them word ordering them to evacuate his city [Yathrib] because of their perfidy and violation of covenant. The Jews refused to comply, and announced hostility.^[2] Upon this the Prophet marched and besieged them for fifteen days, at the close of which they capitulated, agreeing to evacuate his town and to be entitled to whatever the camels could carry with the exception of coats of mail and armor, the Prophet taking their land, palm-trees, coats of mail and other arms. Thus did all the possessions of the banu-an-Naḍîr become the property of the Prophet. The Prophet used to sow their land planted with palm-trees and thus provided for his family and wives for one year. With what could not be consumed, he bought horses and arms.

Fiefs assigned. Of the land of banu-an-Naḍîr, the Prophet gave fiefs to abu-Bakr, ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-‘Auf, abu-Dujânah^[3] Simâk ibn-Kharashah as-Sâ‘idi and others. This occurred in the year 4 of the Hegira.

Mukhairîk. According to al-Wâḳidi, one of the banu-an-Naḍîr, ukhairîk, was a learned rabbi and he believed in the Prophet and offered him all that he possessed, which was seven palm-gardens surrounded with walls. This the Prophet set apart as *ṣadaḳah*-land. The seven gardens are: al-Mîthab, aṣ-Şâfiyah, ad-Dalâl, Ḥusna,^[4] Barḳah, al-A‘wâf, Mashrabat umm-Ibrâhîm,^[5] Ibrâhîm being the son of the Prophet and his mother being Mâriyah, the Copt.

Other versions of the conquest. Al-Ḳasim ibn-Sallâm from az-Zuhri:—The attack on the banu-an-Naḍîr, the Jews, took place six months after the battle of Uḥud. The Prophet pressed the siege until they agreed to evacuate the city stipulating that they take with them whatever utensils their camels could carry with the exclusion of the coats of mail. Hence the text revealed by Allah: "All that is in the heavens and all that is on the earth praiseth Allah! And He is the mighty, the wise! He it is who caused the unbelievers among the people of the Book", etc.,^[6] to "put the wicked to shame."

The next tradition was communicated to us by al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad on the authority of Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq^[7] regarding the above text which Allah hath revealed to his Messenger:—Those referred to are banu-an-Naḍir. By "Ye pressed not towards it with horse or camel. But Allah giveth his Messengers authority over whomsoever He willeth",^[8] Allah showed that it is wholly assigned to the Prophet and to no one else. The Prophet then parcelled out the land among the *Emigrants*. But when Sahl ibn-Ḥunaif and abu-Dujānah mentioned their poverty, he gave them a share. As for the text: "The spoil taken from the people of the villages and assigned by Allah to his Messenger, it belongeth to Allah and to the Messenger," etc., to the end of the text, it means that Allah made another division among the Moslems.

According to a tradition I received from Muḥammad ibn-Hâtim as-Samîn on the authority of ibn-ʿUmar, the Prophet burnt and cut down the palm-trees of the banu-an-Naḍir in reference to which Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit says:

"The leading men of the banu-Lu' ai would have regarded it easy, to bring about the great fire at Buwairah."^[9]

According to ibn-Jurajj, it was in this connection that Allah revealed the text: "Whatever palm-trees ye have cut down or left standing on their stems was by Allah's permission and to put the wicked to shame."

A similar tradition was communicated to us by abu-ʿUbaid on the authority of ibn-ʿUmar.

Abu-ʿAmr ash-Shaibâni, among other reporters, holds that the above-quoted verse was composed by abu-Sufyân ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib and that its wording is as follows:

"The leading men of the banu-Lu' ai would have regarded it hard, to bring about the great conflagration of Buwairah."

(According to other reports it is Buwailah [and not Buwairah]).^[10] Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit in answer to that wrote the following:

"May Allah perpetuate the conflagration
and make the fire rage in its parts.
They were given the Book but they lost it.
Thus with respect to the Taurât they are blind and erring."^[11]

The Prophet's special share. ʿAmr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâkid from Mâlik ibn-Aus ibn-al-Ḥadathân:—It was stated by ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb that the possessions of the banu-an-Naḍir were assigned by Allah to the Prophet, the Moslems having not "pressed toward them with horse or camel." Thus they were wholly his property. The Prophet used to spend their annual income on his family and invest what was left in horses and arms to be used in the cause of Allah.

Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr ad-Dimashķi from Mâlik ibn-Aus ibn-al-Ḥadathân:— ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb told him [Mâlik] that the Prophet had three special shares which he appropriated for himself; namely, the possessions of the banu-an-Naḍîr, Khaibar and Fadak. The possessions of the banu-an-Naḍîr he reserved for use in case of misfortunes that might befall him. Those of Fadak were reserved for wayfarers. Those of Khaibar he divided into three portions, two of which he divided among the Moslems and the third he reserved for his and his family's expenses, distributing what was left after the expenses to the needy among the *Emigrants*.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from az-Zuhri:—The possessions of the banu-an-Naḍîr were among the things that Allah assigned to his Prophet. The Moslems "pressed not towards them with horse or camel." They were therefore wholly the property of the Prophet; and he divided them among the Emigrants, giving nothing of them to the *Anṣâr* with the exception of two persons who were needy, i. e., Simâk ibn-Kharashah abu-Dujânah, and Sahl ibn-Ḥunaif.

Al-Ḥusain from al-Kalbi:—When the Prophet secured the possessions of the banu-an-Naḍîr, who were the first he made to evacuate the land, Allah said: "He it is who caused the unbelievers among the 'People of the Book' to quit their homes and join those who had evacuated previously."^[12] Thus these possessions were among the spoils towards which the Moslems "pressed not with horse or camel." The Prophet then said to the *Anṣâr*: "Your brethren, the *Emigrants* have no possessions. If ye therefore desire, I will divide these [newly acquired possessions] and what ye already possess among you and the *Emigrants*. But if ye desire, keep ye your possessions and I will divide these [newly acquired ones] among the *Emigrants* alone." To this the *Anṣâr* replied: "Divide these among them and give them from our possessions whatever thou wishest." Because of this the text was revealed: "They prefer them before themselves, though poverty be their own lot."^[13] Thereupon abu-Bakr said: "May Allah give you the good recompense, ye *Anṣârs* your case and ours is like that referred to by al-Ghanawi where he said,

'May Allah recompense in our behalf the Ja'far,
who when our feet slipped in al-Waṭ'atain and we fell,
took ungrudging care of us
although our mothers would have murmured if they were in their place.
The rich are many and every hungry man
goes to places kept warm and sheltered.'"

The fief of az-Zubair. Al-Ḥusain from Hishâm ibn-‘Urwah's father:—The Prophet assigned as fief to az-Zubair ibn-‘Auwâm a piece of the banu-an-Naḍîr's land planted with palm-trees.

Al-Ḥusain from Hishâm ibn-‘Urwah's father:—The Prophet gave out of the land of the banu-an-Naḍîr in fief and he gave a fief to az-Zubair.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd,^[14] the secretary of al-Wâķidi, from Anas ibn-‘Iyâḍ, and ‘Abdallâh ibn-Numair from Hishâm ibn-‘Urwah's father:—The Prophet assigned as fief to az-Zubair a piece of the banu-an-Naḍîr's land planted with palm-trees. Abu-Bakr assigned

to az-Zubair as fief al-Jurf. Anas in his tradition says the land was dead. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Numair says in his tradition that ‘Umar gave az-Zubair as fief all of al-‘Aḳîḳ.

Footnotes

1. Hishâm, p. 652; Ibn-Sa‘d, vol. ii² p. 40; Al-Wâḳidi, *al-Maghâzi*, p. 353.
2. Al-Ya‘ḳûbi, *Ta‘rîkh*, vol. ii, p. 49.
3. Ya‘ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 50.
4. "Al-Ḥasna" in *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 150.
5. Wâḳidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 166.
6. Koran, 59: 1.
7. Hishâm, pp. 654 and 655.
8. Baiḍâwi, vol. ii, pp. 322–323.
9. Al-Bakri, under Buwairah; Ibn-Hishâm, pp. 712–713.
10. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 765.
11. Cf. Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit, *Dîwân*, p. 46.
12. Koran, 59: 2.
13. Kor., 59: 9.
14. Ibn-Sa‘d, vol. ii², p. 41.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 3

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CHAPTER III

THE POSSESSIONS OF THE BANU-ḲURAIẒAH

The subjection of the banu-Ḳuraizah. The Prophet besieged banu-Ḳuraizah for a few days in dhu-l-Ḳa'dah, and a few days in dhu-l-Hijjah, of the year 5, the whole time being fifteen days.^[1] These banu-Ḳuraizah were among those who had assisted in the fight against the Prophet in the battle of al-Khandak [the moat] also called battle of al-Aḥzâb [the confederates]. Finally they surrendered and he installed Sa'd ibn-Mu'âdh al-Ausi as their ruler. The latter decreed that every adult^[2] be executed, that women and children be carried as captives and that all that they possessed be divided among the Moslems.^[3] The Prophet approved of the decree saying: "What thou hast decreed is in accordance with the decree of Allah and his Prophet."

Gabriel appears to the Prophet. 'Abd-al-Wâhid ibn-Ghiyâth from 'Â'ishah:—When the Prophet was done with the battle of al-Aḥzâb, he went into the wash-room in order to wash. There Gabriel appeared to him and said, "Muḥammad, thou hast laid down thy arms; but we have not yet. Hasten against the banu-Ḳuraizah." 'Â'ishah upon this said to the Prophet: "O Prophet of Allah, I have seen him [Gabriel] through a hole in the door with the dust around his head!"^[4]

The adults executed. 'Abd-al-Wâhid ibn-Ghiyâth from Kathîr ibn-as-Sâ'ib:—Banu-Ḳuraizah were presented to the Prophet with the result that those of them who had attained to puberty^[5] were executed and those who had not attained to puberty were spared.

Huyai ibn-Akḥṭab put to death with his son. Wahb ibn-Baḳîyah from al-Ḥasan:—Huyai ibn-Akḥṭab made a covenant with the Prophet agreeing never to assist anyone against him and mentioned Allah as surety for the covenant. When he and his son were brought before the Prophet on the day of Ḳuraizah, the Prophet remarked: "The one mentioned as surety has done his part." By the order of the Prophet the heads of the man and his son were cut off.^[6]

The division of the booty. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Ma'mar who said:—I once asked az-Zuhri whether the banu-Ḳuraizah had any lands, to which he replied directly, "The Prophet divided it among the Moslems into different shares."

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from ibn-ʿAbbâs:—The Prophet divided the possessions of the banu-Ḳuraizah and Khaibar among the Moslems.^[7]

The conquest according to az-Zuhri. Abu-ʿUbaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from az-Zuhri:—The Prophet pressed the siege against banu-Ḳuraizah until they surrendered to Saʿd ibn-Muʿâdh who decreed that their men be executed, their children be taken as captives and their possessions be divided. Accordingly, a certain number of men were put to death on that day.

Footnotes

1. Dhu-l-Kaʿdah 23—dhu-l-Hijjah 9; cf. Wâḳidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 210; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1487.
2. Literally "every one on whose beard the razor could be used."
3. Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 373.
4. Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 371 ; Ibn-Sa'd, vol. ii¹, p. 55; Ibn-Hishâm, p. 684.
5. Literally every one who "had the dreams and hair" that mark adolescence.
6. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1494.
7. Wâḳidi, Wellhausen, pp. 220–221.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 4

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CHAPTER IV

KHAIBAR

The capitulation of Khaibar. The Prophet invaded Khaibar^[1] in the year 7. Its people contended with him, delayed him and resisted the Moslems. So the Prophet besieged them for about one month.^[2] They then capitulated on the terms that their blood would not be shed, and their children be spared, provided that they evacuate the land, which he permitted the Moslems to take together with the gold and silver and arms—except what was on the person of the banu-Khaibar, and that they keep nothing secret from the Prophet. They then told the Prophet, "We have special experience in cultivation and planting palm-trees," and asked to be allowed to remain in the land. The Prophet granted them their request and allowed them one-half of the fruits and grains produced saying: "I shall keep you settled so long as Allah keeps you."

Umar expels the people of Khaibar. During the caliphate of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, a pestilence spread among them and they mistreated the Moslems. ‘Umar, thereupon, made them evacuate the land, dividing what they had among those of the Moslems who already had a share in it.

The terms made. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq who said:—"I once asked ibn-Shihāb about Khaibar and he told me that he was informed that the Prophet captured it by force after a fight, and that it was included among the spoils which Allah assigned to his Prophet. The Prophet took its fifth and divided the land among the Moslems. Those of its people who surrendered did^[3] so on condition that they leave the land; but the Prophet asked them to enter into a treaty, which they did."

Huyai hides a bag full of money. ‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-Ḥammād an-Narsi from ibn-‘Umar:—The Prophet came to the people of Khaibar and fought them until he drove them to their castle and captured their land and palm-trees. They then capitulated on the terms that their blood be not shed, that they evacuate the land and be entitled to all that their camels could carry, and that the Prophet be entitled to the gold and silver and arms.^[4] The Prophet made it a condition for them that they hold nothing secret or hidden from him, otherwise they are no more within his protection or covenant. They, however, hid a leather bag in which were kept money and jewels belonging to Huyai ibn-Akḥṭab. This bag Huyai had brought to Khaibar on the occasion of the expulsion of the banu-an-Naḍir. The Prophet asked Sa‘yah ibn-‘Amr saying, "What has become of the bag which Huyai brought from the banu-an-Naḍir?" To this Sa‘yah answered, "Wars and expenses

have emptied it." But the Prophet remarked, "It was a short time and a big sum of money. Moreover, Huyai was killed before that." The Prophet then turned Sa'yah over to az-Zubair and the latter put him to the torture. At last Sa'yah said: "I saw Huyai roaming about in a deserted place yonder." Search was made in the deserted place and the bag was found. The Prophet, thereupon, put the two sons of abu-l-Huḡaiḡ to death, one of whom was the husband of Ṣafīyah,^[5] the daughter of Huyai ibn-Akḡḡab. Moreover, he captivated their children and women and divided their possessions because of their breach of faith.

‘Abdallāh ibn-Rawāḡah estimates the produce. The Prophet also wanted to expel the banu-Khaibar from the land but they said, "Let us stay in the land to repair it and manage it." The Prophet and his companions having no slaves to manage it, and they having no time to do it themselves, he gave them Khaibar on condition that they have one-half of every palm-tree or plant ...^[6] as it occurred to the Prophet. ‘Abdallāh ibn-Rawāḡah used to come every year and estimate by conjecture the quantity of dates upon the palm-trees and rent them one-half. Banu-Khaibar accused him to the Prophet charging him with partiality in estimation and offered to bribe him. To this he [‘Abdallāh] replied saying, "Do ye enemies of Allah mean to give me unlawful money?^[7] By Allah, I have been sent to you by one whom of all men I love best. As for you, I hate you more than monkeys and pigs. My hatred to you and love to him, however, shall never stand in the way of my being just to you." They then said, "Through this [justice] have heavens and earth been established!"

The green spot in the eye of Ṣafīyah, the Prophet's wife. Once the Prophet, noticing a green spot in the eye of Ṣafīyah, daughter of Huyai, asked her about it, and she said, "As my head lay in the lap of ibn-abi-l-Huḡaiḡ, I saw in my sleep as if a moon fell in my lap. When I told him of what I saw he gave me a blow saying, 'Art thou wishing to have the king of Yathrib?'"^[8] Ṣafīyah added, "Of all men the Prophet was the one I disliked most, for he had killed my husband, father and brother. But he kept on saying, 'Thy father excited the Arabs to unite against me and he did this and that,' until all hatred was gone away from me."

The Prophet used to give annually each of his wives 80 camel-loads of dates and 80 loads of barley from Khaibar.

‘Umar divides Khaibar. It was stated by Nāfi‘ that during the caliphate of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṡṡāb, the people of Khaibar mistreated the Moslems and deceived them and broke the hands of the son of ‘Umar^[9] by hurling him from the roof of a house. Consequently, ‘Umar divided the land among those of the people of Ḥudaibiyah who had taken part in the battle of Khaibar.

The forts of Khaibar. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from ‘Abdallāh ibn-abi-Bakr ibn-Muḡammad ibn-‘Amr ibn-Ḥazm:—The Prophet besieged the people of Khaibar in their two fortresses—al-Waṡṡḡ and Sulālim. When they felt that their destruction was sure, they requested the Prophet to let them off and spare their lives. This he did. The Prophet had already taken possession of all their property^[10] including ash-Shiḡḡ, an-Natāt and al-Katībah together with all their forts except what was in the above-mentioned two.

"Speedy victory." The following tradition regarding the text:^[11] "And rewarded them with a speedy victory" was transmitted by al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad on the authority of ‘Abd-ar-Raḡmān ibn-abi-Laila:—Khaibar and another are meant who could not be

subdued by the Persians and Greeks.

The division of Khaibar. ‘Amr an-Naḳîd from Bushair ibn-Yasâr:—The Prophet divided Khaibar into thirty-six shares and each share into a hundred lots. One-half of the shares he reserved for himself to be used in case of accident or what might befall him, and the other half he distributed among the Moslems. According to this, the Prophet's share included ash-Shiḳḳ with an-Naṭât and whatever was included within them. Among the lands turned into *wakf*^[12] were al-Katîbah and Sulâlim. When the Prophet laid his hands on these possessions, he found that he had not enough ‘*âmil*s^[13] for the land. He therefore turned it over to the Jews on condition that they use the land and keep only one-half of its produce. This arrangement lasted throughout the life of the Prophet and abu-Bakr. But when ‘Umar was made caliph, and as the money became abundant in the lands of the Moslems, and the Moslems became numerous enough to cultivate the land, ‘Umar expelled the Jews to Syria and divided the property among the Moslems.

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from az-Zuhri:—When the Prophet conquered Khaibar the fifth share of it [reserved for himself] was al-Katîbah; as for ash-Shiḳḳ, an-Naṭât, Sulâlim and al-Waṭîḥ they were given to the Moslems. The Prophet left the land in the hands of the Jews on condition that they give him one-half of the produce. Thus the part of the produce assigned by Allah to the Moslems was divided among the Moslems until the time of ‘Umar who divided the land itself among them according to their shares.

Abu-‘Ubaid from Maimûn ibn-Mihrân:—The Prophet besieged the inhabitants of Khaibar between twenty and thirty days.

Al-Husain ibn-al-Aswad from Bushair ibn-Yasâr:—The Prophet divided Khaibar into thirty-six shares—eighteen for the Prophet to meet the expenses of accidents, visitors, and delegates, and the remaining eighteen shares to be divided each among one hundred men.^[14]

Al-Husain from Bushair ibn-Yasâr:—Khaibar was divided into thirty-six shares, each one of which was subdivided into one hundred lots. Eighteen of these shares were divided among the Moslems including the Prophet, who had in addition eighteen shares to meet the expenses of visitors and delegates and accidents that might befall him.

‘Abdallâh ibn-Rawâḥah estimates the produce. ‘Amr an-Naḳîd and al-Husain ibn-al-Aswad from ibn-‘Umar:—The Prophet sent ibn-Rawâḥah to Khaibar who made a conjectural estimation of the palm-trees and gave the people their choice to accept or refuse, to which they replied: " This is justice; and upon justice have heaven and earth been established."

The sons of abu-l-Huḳaik put to death. Ishâḳ ibn-abi-Isrâ’îl from an inhabitant of al-Madînah:—The Prophet made terms with the sons of abu-l-Huḳaik stipulating that they conceal no treasure. But they did conceal; and the Prophet considered it lawful to shed their blood.

Abu-‘Ubaid from Maimûn ibn-Mihrân:—The people of Khaibar were promised security on their lives and children on condition that the Prophet get all that was in the fort. In that fort were the members of a family strongly opposed to the Prophet. To them the Prophet said: "I am aware of your enmity to Allah and to his Prophet, but this is not to hold me from granting you what I granted your companions. Ye, however, have promised me that if ye conceal a thing your blood will become lawful to me. What has

become of your utensils?" "They were all"—they replied, "used up during the fight." The Prophet then gave word to his *Companions* to go to the place where the utensils were. The vessels were disinterred and the Prophet struck off their heads.

‘Abdallâh ibn-Rawâḥah. ‘Amr an-Nâḳid and Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ from ibn-‘Abbâs:—The Prophet turned Khaibar over with its soil and palm-trees to its inhabitants allowing them half of the produce.

Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ from ash-Sha‘bi:—The Prophet turned Khaibar over to its inhabitants for one-half of the produce and sent ‘Abdallâh ibn-Rawâḥah to estimate the dates (or perhaps he said the palm-trees). This he estimated and divided into two halves and asked them to choose whichever one they wanted. Upon this they said, "It is by this that heavens and earth have been established."

A certain friend of abu-Yâsuf from Anas:—‘Abdallâh ibn-Rawâḥah said to the people of Khaibar, "If ye wish, I will estimate and let you choose; otherwise, ye estimate and let me choose." Upon this they said, "It is by this that heavens and earth have been established."

The division of Khaibar. Al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm from az-Zuhri:—The Prophet took Khaibar by force as a result of a fight; and after taking away one-fifth, he divided the remaining four-fifths among the Moslems.

The Jews of Khaibar expelled. ‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-Ḥammâd an-Narsi from ibn-Shihâb:—The Prophet said: "There can be no two religions at the same time in the Arabian peninsula."^[15] ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb investigated until he found it certain and assured that the Prophet had said, "There can be no two religions at the same time in the Arabian peninsula." Accordingly, he expelled the Jews of Khaibar.

The Prophet gives his share. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from al-Wakîdi's *sheikhs*:—The Prophet assigned his share in Khaibar as a means of subsistence, bestowing on each one of his wives 80 camel-loads of dates and 20 loads of barley; on his uncle al-‘Abbas ibn-‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib 200 loads; and on abu-Bakr, ‘Umar, al-Ḥassân, al-Ḥusain and others including the banu-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-‘Abd-Manâf a certain number of loads. To this end, he drew up for them a document.

Al-Walîd from Aflaḥ ibn-Ḥumaid's father who said:—"I was made by ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz governor of al-Karibah; and we used to give the heirs of the recipients of the Prophet's bestowals their due, those heirs being numbered and recorded by us.

‘Umar divides Khaibar. Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim as-Samîn from Nâfi‘:—The Prophet turned Khaibar over to the hands of its people on condition that they give him one-half of the produce. Thus they held it during the life of the Prophet, abu-Bakr and the early part of the caliphate of ‘Umar. Then ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Umar visited them for some purpose and they attacked him in the night. He [‘Umar], therefore, turned them out of Khaibar and divided it among those of the Moslems who were present [in its battle] giving a share to the Prophet's wives. To the latter he said, "Whichever of you likes to have the fruit can have it, and whichever likes the estate can have it, and whatever ye choose will be yours and your heirs' after you."

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from ibn-ʿAbbâs:—Khaibar was divided into 1580 shares. The Moslems were 1580 men, of whom 1540 had taken part in the battle of al-Ḥudaibiyah and forty were with Jaʿfar ibn-abi-Ṭâlib in Abyssinia.

The fief of az-Zubair. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from ibn-ʿUrwah's father:—The Prophet gave as fief to az-Zubair lands in Khaibar planted with palm- and other trees.

Footnotes

1. Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 503.
2. Diyârbakri, *Taʿrîkh al-Khamîs*, vol. ii, p. 47.
3. Hishâm, p. 779.
4. Ibn-Saʿd, vol. ii², pp. 79–80.
5. who became one of the wives of Muḥammad, see an-Nawâwi, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâʾ*, pp. 846–847.
6. Text not clear.
7. Kor., 5: 67 and 68.
8. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1582.
9. Hishâm, p. 780.
10. Six fortresses mentioned by Yaʿqûbi, vol. ii, p. 56.
11. Kor., 48: 18.
12. Unalienable legacy to the Moslem general community.
13. Governors whose chief function it was to collect taxes and conquer more lands.
14. Cf. Wâkidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 285; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1588; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 171.
15. Gottheil, "*Dhimmi and Moslems in Egypt*" in *O. T. and Semitic Studies*, vol. ii, p. 351.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 5

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CHAPTER V

FADAK

The capitulation of Fadak. As the Prophet departed from Khaibar, he sent to the people of Fadak^[1] Muḥaiyisāh ibn-Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī inviting them to Islam. Their chief was one of their number named Yūsha' ibn-Nūn the Jew. They made terms with the Prophet, agreeing to give up one-half of the land with its soil.^[2] The Prophet accepted. Thus one-half was assigned wholly to the Prophet because the Moslems "pressed not against it with horse or camel."^[3] The Prophet used to spend the income on the wayfarers.

Umar expels the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Fadak remained in it until 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb became caliph and expelled the Jews of al-Ḥijāz. On that occasion he sent abu-l-Haitham Mālik ibn-at-Taiyihān (some say an-Naiyihān), Sahl ibn-abi-Haithamah al-Anṣārī, and Zaid ibn-Thābit al-Anṣārī, who estimated justly the value of one-half of its soil. This value 'Umar paid to the Jews and expelled them to Syria.

Sa'īd ibn-Sulaimān from Yahya ibn-Sa'īd:—The people of Fadak made terms with the Prophet agreeing to give one-half of the land and the palm-trees. When 'Umar expelled them, he sent some one to estimate their share in land and palm-trees and he gave them their value.

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from az-Zuhri:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb gave the people of Fadak the price of one-half of their land and palm-trees.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from az-Zuhri, 'Abdallah ibn-abi-Bakr and certain sons of Muḥammad ibn-Maslamah:—Only a remnant of the Khaibar was spared. They betook themselves to the fortifications and asked the Prophet to save their lives and let them go off. The people of Fadak having heard of that surrendered on the same conditions.^[4] Thus Fadak became the special share of the Prophet, for the Moslems "pressed not against it with horse and camel."

A similar tradition was transmitted to us by al-Ḥusain from 'Abdallāh ibn-abi-Bakr, with one addition, that among those who were intermediary between the two parties was Muḥaiyisāh ibn-Mas'ūd.

Al-Ḥusain from 'Umar:—The Prophet had three portions appropriated to himself exclusive of his men: the land of banu-an-Naḍīr which was unalienable and to meet the expenses of the accidents that might befall him, Khaibar which he divided into three

parts, and Fadak the income of which was reserved for wayfarers.

The wives of the Prophet demand an inheritance. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Şâlih al-‘Ijli from ‘Urwah ibn-az-Zubair:—The wives of the Prophet delegated ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân to ask abu-Bakr to give them their inheritance from the share of the Prophet in Khaibar and Fadak. But ‘Â’ishah said to them, "Do ye not fear Allah? and have ye not heard the Prophet say—'What we leave as *ṣadaqah* cannot be inherited?' This property therefore is the property of the people of Muḥammad to meet the expenses of the accidents and guests, and when I die it goes to the one in authority after me." On hearing this, the other wives desisted from their request.

A similar tradition was communicated to us by Aḥmad ibn-Ibrâhim ad-Daurâkî on the authority of ‘Urwah.

The banu-Umayyah confiscate Fadak. Ibrâhim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Ar‘arah from al-Kalbi:—The banu-Umayyah confiscated Fadak and violated the law of the Prophet in regard to it. But when ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz became caliph, he reinstated the land in its old condition.

Fâtimah demands Fadak. ‘Abdallâh ibn-Maimûn al-Mukattib from Mâlik ibn-Ja‘wanah's father:—Fâtimah said to abu-Bakr, "The Prophet assigned to me Fadak; thou shouldst therefore give it to me."^[5] ‘Ali ibn-Abi-Tâlib acted as a witness in her favor. But abu-Bakr asked for another witness; and umm-Aiman testified in her favor. Abu-Bakr, thereupon, said "Thou, daughter of Allah's Prophet, knowest that no evidence can be accepted unless it is rendered by two men or a man and two women." Upon this she departed.

Rauḥ al-Karâbîsi from one supposed by Rauḥ to have been Ja‘far ibn-Muḥammad:—Fâtimah said to abu-Bakr, "Give me Fadak, the Prophet has assigned it to me." Abu-Bakr called for evidence and she presented umm-Aiman and Rabâḥ, the Prophet's freedman, both of whom testified in her favor. But abu-Bakr said, "In such a case no evidence could be accepted unless it be rendered by a man and two women."

Ibn-‘Â’ishah at-Taimi from umm-Hâni:—Fâtimah, the Prophet's daughter, called on abu-Bakr and asked: "Who will inherit thee when thou art dead?" to which he replied, "My son and family." "Why then," asked she, "hast thou—and not we—inherited the Prophet's possessions?" "Daughter of Allah's Prophet," answered abu-Bakr, "by Allah, I have inherited from thy father neither gold nor silver, neither this nor that." "But," said she, "thou hast inherited our share in Khaibar and our *ṣadaqah* in Fadak." To this abu-Bakr replied, "Daughter of Allah's Prophet, I heard Allah's Prophet say, 'This is but something assigned by Allah as a means of subsistence to use during my life; on my death it should be turned over to the Moslems.'"

‘Uthmân ibn-abi-Shaibah from Mughîrah:—‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz once summoned the banu-Umayyah and addressed them saying: "Fadak belonged to the Prophet and by the income from it he met his own expenses, supplied the needy among the banu-Hâshim and helped the unmarried among them to marry. Fâtimah asked him to bestow it on her, but he refused. After the Prophet's death, abu-Bakr used it in the same way. And so did ‘Umar when he became caliph. And now I am going to put it back to its original use; and ye will be my witnesses."

Kura 'Arabîyah. The following tradition was transmitted to us by Suraij ibn-Yûnus from az-Zuhri in explanation of the text, "Against which ye pressed not with horse or camel":^[6]—The places referred to are Kura 'Arabîyah^[7] that belong to the Prophet, i. e., Fadak, and this and that.

'Umar expels the Jews of Fadak. Abu-'Ubaid from az-Zuhri or someone else:—'Umar expelled the Jews of Khaibar and they evacuated the place. As for the Jews of Fadak, they retained half the fruits [produced] and half the soil, in accordance with the conditions on which they made terms with the Prophet. 'Umar paid them the price of half the products and half the soil in gold, silver and pack-saddles, and then expelled them.

The khuṭbah of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz. 'Amr an-Nâkîd from abu-Burkân:—The following is taken from the speech of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz on his installment in the caliphate: "Fadak was among the spoils that Allah assigned the Prophet and the 'Moslems pressed not against it with horse and camel.' When Fâtîmah asked him to give her the land, he said, 'Thou hast nothing to demand from me, and I have nothing to give thee.' The Prophet used to spend the income from it on wayfarers. Then came abu-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Ali who put it to the same use as the Prophet. But when Mu'âwiyah became caliph he gave it as fief to Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam; and the latter bestowed it on my father and on 'Abd-al-Malik. Thus it was handed down to al-Walîd, Sulaimân and myself. When al-Walîd became caliph, I asked him to give me his share, which he did. In like manner, I asked Sulaimân for his share and he gave it. Thus I brought it into one whole again. And nothing that I possess is dearer to me than it! Be ye therefore my witnesses, that I have restored it to what it was."

Al-Ma'mûn gives Fadak to the descendants of Fâtîmah. In the year 210, the commander of the believers al-Ma'mûn 'Abdallâh ibn-Hârun ar-Rashîd ordered that Fadak be delivered to the children of Fâtîmah. To that effect he wrote to his 'âmil in al-Madînah, Kutham ibn-Ja'far, saying, "Greetings!—The commander of the believers, in his position in the religion of Allah and as caliph [successor] of his Prophet and a near relative to him, has the first right to enforce the Prophet's regulations and carry out his orders and deliver to him, whom the Prophet granted something or gave it as *ṣadaqah*, the thing granted or given as such. In Allah alone does the success as well as the strength of the commander of the believers lie, and to do what makes him win His favor is his [the commander's] chief desire.

The Prophet had given Fâtîmah, his daughter, Fadak and bestowed it as *ṣadaqah* on her. That was an evident and well-known fact on which there was no disagreement among the relatives of the Prophet, who do not cease to lay claim on what was given to Fâtîmah as *ṣadaqah* and to which she is entitled. Consequently, the commander of the believers has deemed it right to return it to the heirs of Fâtîmah and deliver it to them, seeking thereby to win the favor of Allah by establishing his right and justice, and of Allah's Prophet by carrying out his command and his wish regarding his *ṣadaqah*. This the commander of the believers ordered recorded in his registers and sent in writing to his 'âmil. And since, after the death of the Prophet, it has been customary on every *mausim*^[8] to have any person claim a grant, or *ṣadaqah* or promise,^[9] and to have his claim accepted, then Fâtîmah's claim on what the Prophet has bestowed on her should—above that of every one else—be accepted as true.

The *commander of the believers* has written to al-Mubârik at-Ṭabari, his freedman, ordering him to give Fadak back to the heirs of Fâtimah, the Prophet's daughter, with all its boundaries and the rights attached to it, and including its slaves and products and other things, all to be delivered to Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-al-Ḥusain ibn-Zaid ibn-ʿAli ibn-al-Ḥusain ibn-ʿAli ibn-abi-Ṭalib and to Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-ʿAli ibn-al-Ḥusain ibn-ʿAli ibn-abi-Ṭalib, both of whom the *commander of the believers* has put in charge of the land in behalf of its owners.

Know therefore that this is the opinion of the *commander of the believers* and what Allah has inspired him to do as His will, and what He has enabled him to do in the way of winning His favor and His Prophet's favor. Let those under thee know it; and treat Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya and Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallâh as thou hast treated al-Mubârik at-Ṭabari; and help them in any way that makes for the fertility, interest and productivity of the land. May it be Allah's will, and peace be unto thee.

Written on Wednesday, two days after the beginning of dhu-l-Ḳaʿdah, year 210."

Al-Mutawakkil restores Fadak to its old condition. When al-Mutawakkil, however, became caliph, he ordered that the land be reinstated in the condition in which it had been before al-Maʾmûn.

Footnotes

1. Yâḳût, vol. iii, pp. 856–857.
2. Not only the produce.
3. Athîr, vol. ii, p. 171; Masʿûdi, *Kitâb at-Tanbîh*, p. 258.
4. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, pp. 57 and 64.
5. Bukhâri, vol. iii, p. 131.
6. Kor., 59: 6.
7. Bakri, pp. 657–658; Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 374.
8. Meeting time of the pilgrims, see *an-Nihâyah*, vol. iv, p. 211, and Muṭarrizi, *al-Mughrib*, vol. ii, p. 250.
9. Ar. *ʿidat*, see Bukhâri, vol. ii, p. 285; vol. iii, p. 168.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 6

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CHAPTER VI

WÂDI-L-ḲURA AND TAIMÂ'

Wâdi-l-Ḳura taken by assault. When the Prophet departed from Khaibar, he came to Wâdi-l-Ḳura^[1] and invited its people to Islam. They refused and started hostilities. The Prophet reduced the place by force; and Allah gave him as booty the possessions of its inhabitants. To the lot of the Moslems fell pieces of furniture and other commodities of which the Prophet took away one-fifth. The Prophet left the land with its palm-trees in the hands of certain Jews on the same rent terms which he had made with the people of Khaibar.^[2] Some say that 'Umar expelled its Jews and divided it among those who fought for its conquest. Others, however, say that 'Umar did not expel them, for it is not included in al-Ḥijâz. Today it is annexed to the administrative district of al-Madînah and is included among its suburbs.

Mid'am condemned to fire. I was informed by certain scholars that the Prophet had a slave, named Mid'am, whom Rifâ'ah ibn-Zaid al-Judhâmi had presented to him. During the invasion of Wâdi-l-Ḳura, Mid'am was shot by an arrow from an unknown quarter as he was putting down the saddle of the Prophet's camel. When someone remarked, "Blessed, O prophet of Allah, is thy slave, for he was shot by an arrow and suffered martyrdom," the Prophet replied, "Nay, the mantle he took from the spoils on the day of Khaibar shall verily burn on him like fire."^[3]

Shaibân ibn-Farrûkh from al-Ḥasan:—Someone remarked to the Prophet, "Thy lad, so and so, has suffered martyrdom," to which the Prophet replied, "Rather he is dragged to fire in a mantle he unlawfully took from the spoils."

'Abd-al-Wâhid ibn-Ghiyâth from al-Ḥasan:—Some one remarked to the Prophet, "Happy art thou, for thy lad, so and so, has suffered martyrdom!" to which he replied, "Rather he is dragged to fire in a mantle he unlawfully took from the spoils."^[4]

Taimâ' capitulates. When the people of Taimâ' heard how the Prophet had subjugated the people of Wâdi-l-Ḳura, they made terms with him, agreeing to pay poll-tax, and they settled in their homes with their lands in their possession.^[5] The Prophet assigned 'Amr ibn-Sa'id ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Umayyah as governor to Wâdi-l-Ḳura, and assigned Yazîd ibn-abî-Sufyân after its conquest, the latter having become Moslem on the day of the conquest of Taimâ'.

‘Umar expels the inhabitants. ‘Abd-al-A‘la ibn-Ḥammâd an-Narsi from ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz:—‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb expelled the people of Fadak, Taimâ’ and Khaibar. The fight between the Prophet and the people of Wâdi-l-Ḳura took place in Jumâda II, year 7.

The fief of Ḥamzah ibn-an-Nu‘mân. Al-‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his grandfather:—The Prophet gave as fief to Ḥamzah ibn-an-Nu‘mân ibn-Haudhah-l-‘Udhri his whip's throw^[6] in Wâdi-l-Ḳura. This Ḥamzah was the chief of the banu-‘Udhrah and the first of the people of al-Ḥijâz to offer the Prophet the *ṣadaqah* of banu-‘Udhrah.

The fief of ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân. ‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad from al-‘Abbâs ibn-‘Âmir's uncle:—‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân called on Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah and said, "O commander of the believers, Mu‘âwiyah in his caliphate bought from certain Jews a piece of land in Wâdi-l-Ḳura and made many improvements in it. Thou hast let that land fall into negligence. It is therefore lost, and its income has decreased. Give it therefore as fief to me, and I shall take care of it." To this Yazîd replied: "We are not stingy in big things, nor can a trifling escape our eye." ‘Abd-al-Malik then said, "Its income is so much ..." "Thou canst have it," said Yazîd.^[7] When ‘Abd-al-Malik departed Yazîd remarked, "It is said that this is the man that will rule after us. If that is right, we would have done him favor and expect to receive something in repay; if it is false, we have granted him a gift."

Footnotes

1. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 678.
2. Wâḳidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 292.
3. Hishâm, p. 765.
4. Bukhâri, vol. iii, pp. 129–130.
5. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 65.
6. Mawardi, p. 330.
7. L. Caetani, *Annali dell Islâm*, vol. ii, p. 50, note 7.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 7

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CHAPTER VII

MAKKAH

The cause of its invasion. When the Prophet made arrangements with the ʔuraish in the year of al-Ḥudaibiyah and wrote down the statement of the truce^[1] to the effect that he who desires to make a covenant with Muḥammad can do so, and he who desires to make a covenant with ʔuraish can do so; and that he of the *Companions* of the Prophet who comes to ʔuraish should not be returned, and he of the banu-ʔuraish or their allies who comes to the Prophet should be returned, then those of Kinānah who were present rose and said, "We will enter into a covenant with ʔuraish, and accept their terms"; but Khuzā'ah said, "We will enter into the covenant of Muḥammad and his contract." Since between 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib and Khuzā'ah an old alliance existed, 'Amr ibn-Sâlim ibn-Ḥaṣîrah-l-Khuzâ'i composed the following verse:

"O Allah! I am seeking from Muḥammad
the hereditary alliance of our father and his."^[2]

One of the clan of Khuzā'ah hearing one of the clan of Kinānah sing a poem satirizing the Prophet, attacked him and crushed his head. This incident provoked evil and fighting between the two parties. ʔuraish reinforced banu-Kinānah and together they attacked Khuzā'ah in the night time, thus violating the covenant and the arrangement.

Thereupon, 'Amr ibn-Sâlim ibn-Ḥaṣîrah-l-Khuzâ'i came to the Prophet and solicited his aid. This led the Prophet to invade Makkah.

The following is taken from a long tradition communicated to us by abu-'Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm on the authority of 'Urwah:—ʔuraish made terms with the Prophet, stipulating that both parties promise each other security against treachery and stealth,^[3] so that a man coming on pilgrimage to Makkah or to visit there, or passing on his way between al-Yaman and at-Ṭâ'if is safe; and he of the "polytheists" who passes through al-Madînah on his way to Syria and the East is safe. In this covenant the Prophet included banu-Ka'b; and ʔuraish included in their covenant their allies of the banu-Kinānah.

Abu-Sufyân as an envoy. ‘Abd-al-Wâhid ibn-Ghiyâth from ‘Ikrimah:—The banu-Bakr of Kinânah were included in the peace terms of Kuraish, and the Khuzâ‘ah were included in the peace terms of the Prophet. But a fight took place between the banu-Bakr and Khuzâ‘ah at ‘Arafah.^[4] Kuraish provided banu-Bakr with arms, and gave them water to drink, and shelter. Some of the Kuraish objected saying, "Ye have violated the covenant," yet the others replied, "We have not. By Allah, we did not fight. We only gave them provision, water, and shelter."

They, thereupon, said to abu-Sufyân ibn-Harb, "Go and renew the alliance and reconcile the parties" Abu-Sufyân proceeded to al-Madînah where he met abu-Bakr and said to him, "Abu-Bakr, renew the alliance and reconcile the parties."

Abu-Bakr asked him to see ‘Umar. Accordingly he met ‘Umar and said, "Renew the alliance and reconcile the parties," to which ‘Umar replied, "May Allah cut off the alliance what is still connected and wear out what is still new." Abu-Sufyân then said, "By Allah I never saw a worse head of a tribe than thou!" Thence he went to Fâtimah who asked him to meet ‘Ali. This he did and made the same request. ‘Ali replied, "Thou art the *sheikh* of Kuraish and its chief. Renew therefore the alliance and reconcile the parties." Abu-Sufyân then clapped his right hand against the left saying, "I have renewed the alliance and reconciled the parties."

He then left and came to Makkah. The Prophet had said, "Abu-Sufyân is coming. He returns satisfied without having effected any result." When he returned to the people of Makkah he told them what had happened and they said, "By Allah we know none more foolish than thou. Thou dost bring us neither war that we may be warned, nor peace that we may feel safe."

Khuzâ‘ah then came to the Prophet and complained of what had befallen them. The Prophet said, "I was ordered to secure one of the two towns Makkah or at-Tâ‘if." Thereupon, the Prophet ordered that the march be commenced. Thus he set out with the *Companions* saying, "O Allah, strike upon their ears [with deafness] that they may not hear,^[5] so that we may take them by surprise!" The Prophet pressed the march until he camped at Marr az-Zahrân. Kuraish had asked abu-Sufyân to return. When he [abu-Sufyân] got to Marr az-Zahrân and saw the fires and the tents he said, "What is the matter with the people? They seem like the people celebrating the night of ‘Arafah." Saying this, he was surrounded by the Prophet's horsemen, who took him prisoner; and he was brought before the Prophet. ‘Umar came and wanted to execute him, but al-‘Abbâs prevented him and he [abu-Sufyân] embraced Islâm and presented himself before the Prophet. When the time for morning prayer came, the Moslems bestirred themselves for ablution before prayer. "What is the matter?" said abu-Sufyân to al-‘Abbâs ibn-‘Abd-al-Muttalib, "Do they mean to kill me?" "No," answered al-‘Abbâs, "they have risen for prayer." As they began to pray, abu-Sufyân noticed that when the Prophet knelt they knelt; when he prostrated himself, they prostrated themselves; upon which he remarked, "By Allah I never saw, as I did to-day, the submissiveness of a people coming from here and there—not even in the case of the noble Persians, or the Greeks who have long fore-locks."^[6]

Al-‘Abbâs asked the Prophet saying, "Send me to the people of Makkah that I may invite them to Islâm." No sooner had the Prophet sent him than he called him back saying, "Bring my uncle back to me, that the 'polytheists' may not kill him." Al-‘Abbâs, however, refused to return until he came to Makkah and made the following statement: "O ye people, embrace Islâm and ye shall be safe. Ye have been surrounded on all sides. Ye are

confronted by a hard case that is beyond your power.^[7] Here is Khâlid in the lower part of Makkah, there is az-Zubair in the upper part of it, and there is the Prophet of Allah at the head of the *Emigrants*, *Anṣâr* and Khuzâ'ah." To this ʔuraish replied, "And what are Khuzâ'ah with their mutilated noses!"

The entrance into Makkah. 'Abd-al-Wâḥid ibn-Ghiyâth from abu-Hurairah:—The spokesman of Khuzâ'ah repeated the following verse before the Prophet:

"O Lord, I am seeking from Muḥammad
the hereditary alliance between our father and his.
Reinforce therefore, with Allah's guidance, a mighty victory,
and summon the worshippers of Allah, and they will come for help."^[8]

Ḥammâd states on the authority of 'Ikrimah that Khuzâ'ah called the Prophet as he was washing himself, and the Prophet replied, "Here I am!"

According to al-Wâḥidi among others, a band of ʔuraish took up arms on the day of the conquest [of Makkah] saying, "Never shall Muḥammad enter the city except by force." Accordingly, Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd led the fight against them and was the first to receive the order of the Prophet to enter.^[9] So he killed twenty-four men from [the tribe of] ʔuraish and four from [the tribe of] Hudhail. Others state that twenty-three men from ʔuraish were killed on that day and the rest took to flight seeking refuge in the mountain heights which they climbed. Of the *Companions* of the Prophet, Kurz ibn-Jâbir al-Fihri, and Khâlid al-Ash'ar al-Ka'bi suffered martyrdom on that day. According to Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi, however, the latter of the martyrs was Ḥubaish al-Ash'ar ibn-Khâlid al-Ka'bi^[10] of the tribe of Khuzâ'ah.

Abu-Hurairah describes the conquest. Shaibân ibn-abi-Shaibah-l-Ubulli from 'Abdallâh ibn-Rabâḥ:—A number of deputations came to call on Mu'âwiyah. It was in Ramaḍân, and we used to prepare food for one another. Abu-Hurairah was one of those who often invited us to his dwelling-place. I [ibn-Rabâḥ] therefore prepared a meal and invited them. Then abu-Hurairah asked, " Shall I, O *Anṣâr*, amuse you with a narrative concerning you?" and he went on to describe the conquest of Makkah as follows: "The Prophet advanced until he came to Makkah. At the head of one of the two wings of the army, he sent az-Zubair, at the head of the other, Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd, and of the infantry abu-'Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ. The way they took was through the bottom of the valley. The Prophet was at the head of his cavalry detachment. On seeing me the Prophet called, 'Abu-Hurairah,' and I replied, 'Here I am, Prophet of Allah.' 'Summon the *Anṣâr*,' said he, 'and let no one come but my *Anṣâr*.' I summoned them and they came around. In the meantime, ʔuraish had gathered their mob and followers saying, 'Let us send these ahead. If they win, we will join them; and if defeated, we shall give whatever is demanded.' 'Do ye see' said the Prophet, 'the mob of ʔuraish?' 'We do,' answered the *Anṣâr*. He then made a sign with one hand over the other as if to say, 'kill them.' To this the Prophet added, 'Meet me at aṣ-Ṣafa.' Accordingly we set out, each man killing whomever he wanted to kill, until abu-Sufyân came to the Prophet saying, 'O Prophet of Allah, the majority of ʔuraish is annihilated. There is no more ʔuraish after this day.'^[11] The Prophet thereupon announced, 'He who enters the house of abu-Sufyân is safe, he who closes his own door is safe, and he who lays down his arms is safe.' On

this the *Anṣâr* remarked one to the other, 'The man is moved by love to his relatives and compassion on his clan.' The Prophet at this received the inspiration which we never failed to observe whenever it came. He therefore said: 'O ye *Anṣâr*, ye have said so and so ...' 'We have, Prophet of Allah,' replied the *Anṣâr*. 'Nay,' said the Prophet, 'I am the slave of Allah and his Prophet. I have immigrated to Allah and to you. 'My life is your life; my death is your death!' Hearing this, the *Anṣâr* began to weep saying, 'By Allah, we said what we said only in our anxiety to spare the Prophet of Allah.' The people then crowded to the house of abu-Sufyân and closed its doors laying down their arms. The Prophet proceeded to the 'stone' and laid hold of it. He then made the circuit of the 'House' and came, with a bow in his hand held at its curved part, to an idol at the side of the Ka'bah. He began to stab the eye of the idol saying, 'Truth has come and falsehood has vanished, it is the property of vanity to vanish.'^[12] When the circuit was done, he came to aṣ-Ṣafa, climbed it until he could see the 'House,' and he raised his hand praising Allah and praying."

The Prophet's orders. Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbâh from 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Utbah:—On the occasion of the conquest of Makkah, the Prophet made the following statement, "Slay no wounded person, pursue no fugitive, execute no prisoner; and whosoever closes his door is safe."

Ibn-Khaṭal proscribed. Al-Wâkidi states that the invasion in which the conquest was effected was carried on in the month of Ramaḍân in the year 8. On that occasion the Prophet remained in Makkah to the time of the festival at the end of Ramaḍân, after which he proceeded to invade Ḥunain. To the governorship of Makkah he assigned 'Attâb ibn-Asîd ibn-abi-l-'Îṣ ibn-Umaiyaḥ, and ordered the demolishing of the idols and the effacement of the pictures that stood in the Ka'bah. He also said, "Put ibn-Khaṭal to death, even if ye find him holding the curtains of the Ka'bah." Accordingly, abu-Barzah^[13]-Aslami put him to death. According to abu-al-Yaḳẓân, however, the name of ibn-Khaṭal was Ẓais, and the one who put him to death was abu-Shiryâb al-Anṣâri. This ibn-Khaṭal had two female slave-singers who always sang poems satirizing the Prophet. One of them was killed, and the other lived to the time of 'Uthmân when a rib of hers was broken and caused her death.

Miḳyas ibn-Ṣubâbah proscribed. Numailah ibn-'Abdallâh al-Kinâni killed Miḳyas ibn-Ṣubâbah-l-Kinâni, the Prophet having announced that whosoever finds him may kill him. The Prophet did this for the following reason: Miḳyas had a brother, Hâshim ibn-Ṣubâbah ibn-Ḥazn, who embraced Islâm and witnessed with the Prophet the invasion made on al-Muraisî'. Hâshim was mistaken by one of the *Ansâr* for a "polytheist" and killed. Miḳyas thereupon came to the Prophet and the Prophet decreed that the relatives of the slayer responsible for the bloodwit should pay it. Miḳyas received the bloodwit and became Moslem. Later he attacked his brother's slayer, slew him and took to flight, after which he apostatised from Islam and said:

"My soul has been healed by having him lie,
 deep in the blood flowing from his veins his clothes soaked,
 I took revenge on him by force leaving it,
 for the leaders of banu-an-Najjâr, the high in rank, to pay his bloodwit,
 thereby I attained my ambition, and satisfied my vengeance,
 and I was the first to forsake Islâm."^[14]

Al-Huwairith proscribed. 'Ali ibn-abi-Tâlib killed al-Huwairith ibn-Nuḳaidh ibn-Bujair^[15] ibn-'Abd ibn-Ḳusai, the Prophet having declared that whosoever finds him may kill him.

Ibn-Khaṭal's slave-singers. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from al-Kalbi:—A female slave-singer owned by Hilâl ibn-'Abdallâh, i. e., ibn-Khaṭal al-Adrami of the banu-Taim, came to the Prophet in disguise. She embraced Islâm and acknowledged the Prophet as chief. Not knowing who she was, the Prophet did not molest her. The other singer of Hilâl was killed. Both singers, however, used to sing satires against the Prophet.

Ibn-as-Ziba'ra embraces Islam. Ibn-az-Ziba'ra as-Sahmi embraced Islam before the Moslems had chance to kill him, and sang poems in praise of the Prophet. On the day of the conquest of Makkah the Prophet declared his blood lawful, but he was not molested.

The Prophet's khuṭbah. Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ al-Bazzâz from al-Ḳâsim ibn-Rabî'ah:—On the day of the battle of Makkah the Prophet delivered the following *khuṭbah* [speech]: "Praise be to Allah who made his promise true, and gave his army victory^[16] and all alone defeated the 'confederates.' Verily every privilege of pre-Islamic time and every blood and every claim lie under my feet with the exception of the custody of the 'House'^[17] and the providing of the Pilgrims with beverage."

Khalaf al-Bazzâr from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmân's *sheikhs*:—On the day of the conquest of Makkah the Prophet asked Ḳuraish, "What think ye?"^[18] to which they replied, "What we think is good, and what we say is good. A noble brother thou art, and the son of a noble brother. Thou hast succeeded." The Prophet then said, "My answer is that given by my brother Joseph,^[19] 'No blame be on you this day. Allah will forgive you; for he is the most merciful of the merciful.' Verily every debt, possession, and privilege of pre-Islam lie under my feet with the exception of the custody of the 'House' and providing the pilgrims with beverage."

Shaibân from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Ubaid ibn-'Umair:—The Prophet said in his *khuṭbah*, "Yea, all Makkah is inviolable. What is between its two rugged mountains was not lawful for any one before me, nor will it be made for any after me. To me it was made lawful for only one hour on one day. Its fresh herbage shall not be cut, its thorny trees shall not be felled, its game shall not be chased, what is found^[20] in it shall not be kept unless previous announcement has been made of the find." Al-'Abbâs said, "From this should be excluded the *idhkkhir* plant^[21] to be used by our jewelers, blacksmiths and as a means of cleansing^[22] our houses." The Prophet then added, "The *idhkkhir* is excluded."

Yûsuf ibn-Mûsa-l-Ḳaṭṭân from ibn-'Abbâs:—The Prophet said, "The fresh herbage of Makkah shall not be cut, its trees shall not be felled." "With the exception of the *idhkkhir* plant," remarked al-'Abbâs, "which is for the blacksmiths^[23] and for the cleansing of the houses." This the Prophet allowed.

Umar advised not to confiscate the treasure. Shaibân from al-Ḥasan:—'Umar wanted to seize the treasure of the Ka'bah to use it in the cause of Allah. But Ubai ibn-Ka'b al-Anṣârî turned to him and said: "Before thee, 'Commander of the Believers' came thy two companions;^[24] who would have surely done so, if it were an act of virtue."^[25]

Makkah inviolable. ‘Amr an-Nâḳid from Mujâhid:^[26]—"Makkah is inviolable," said the Prophet, "It is not legal either to sell its dwellings or to rent its houses."

The dwelling places of Makkah not to be rented. Muḥammad ibn-Ḥâtim al-Marwazi from ‘Ā’ishah who said, "Once I said to the Prophet, 'Build for thee, Prophet of Allah, a house in Makkah that will protect thee against the sun,' to which he replied, 'Makkah is the dwelling place only of those who are already in it.'"

Khalaf ibn-Hishâm al-Bazzâr from ibn-Juraij who said, "I have read a letter written by ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz in which the renting of houses in Makkah is prohibited."

Abu-‘Ubaid from ibn-‘Umar:—The latter said: "The whole of *al-Ḥaram* is a place of worship."^[27]

‘Amr an-Nâḳid from ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-abi-Sulaimân:—A message written by ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz to the chief of Makkah reads: "Let not the inhabitants of Makkah receive rent for their houses because it is not legal for them."

The following tradition regarding the text, "Alike for those who abide therein and for the stranger^[28]" was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân ibn-abi-Shaibah from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Sâbit:—By the stranger is meant the pilgrims and visitors who go there and who have equal right in the buildings, being entitled to live wherever they want, provided none of the natives of Makkah goes out of his home.

The following tradition regarding the same text was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân on the authority of Mujâhid:—The inhabitants of Makkah and other people are alike so far as the dwellings are concerned.

‘Uthmân and ‘Amr from Mujâhid:—‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb once said to the people of Makkah, "Make no doors for your houses that the stranger may live wherever he wants."

‘Uthmân ibn-abi-Shaibah and Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from abu-Ḥaṣîn.—The latter said, "I once told Sa‘id ibn-Jubair in Makkah that I wanted to 'abide therein' to which he replied, 'Thou art already abiding therein' and he read, 'Alike for those who abide therein and for the stranger.'"

The following tradition in explanation of the same text was communicated to us by ‘Uthmân on the authority of Sa‘id ibn-Jubair:—All people in it are alike whether they are the inhabitants of Makkah or of some other place.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâḳidi:—Many cases were brought before abu-Bakr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Amr ibn-Ḥazm regarding the rents of the houses of Makkah, and abu-Bakr in each case judged against the tenant. This too is the view of Mâlik and ibn-abi-Dhi‘b. But according to Rabi‘ah and abu-az-Zinâd, there is no harm in taking money for renting houses or for selling dwellings in Makkah.^[29]

Al-Wâḳidi said, "I saw ibn-abi-Dhi‘b receiving the rent of his house in Makkah between aṣ-Ṣafa and al-Marwah."

It was said by al-Laith ibn-Sa‘d, "Whatever has the form of a house its rent is legal for its proprietor. As for the halls, the roads, the courts, and the abodes that are in a state of ruins, he who comes to them first can have them first without rent."

A tradition to the same effect was transmitted to me by abu-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân al-Awḍi on the authority of ash-Shâfi‘i.

Said Sufyân ibn-Sa‘îd ath-Thauri: "To rent a house in Makkah is illegal"; and he insisted on that.

According to al-Auzâ‘i, ibn-abi-Laila and abu-Ḥanîfah, if the rent is made during the nights of the Pilgrimage it is void, but if it is in other nights, whether the one who hires is a neighbor or not, it is all right.

According to certain followers of abu-Yûsuf, its rent is absolutely legal. The one "abiding therein" and the "stranger" are alike only as regards making the circuit of the "House."

The plants of the Ḥaram. Al-Ḥusain ibn-‘Ali ibn-al-Aswad from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-al-Aswad:—The latter found no harm in gathering vegetables, cutting, eating or making any other use of anything else planted by man in Makkah be it palm-trees or otherwise. He only disapproved of this being done with trees and plants that grow of their own accord without the agency of man. From this category *al-idhkhîr* was excluded. According to al-Ḥasan ibn-Sâlih, ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân allowed it in the case of rotten trees that have decayed and fallen to pieces.

According to the view of Mâlik and ibn-abi-Dhi‘b, as stated by Muḥammad ibn-‘Umar al-Wâkidi, regarding the legality or illegality of felling a tree of the Ḥaram, it is wrong at all events; but if the man who does it is ignorant he should be taught and receive no penalty; if he knows but is impious, he should be punished without paying the value of the trees. He who cuts it may have it for his use. According to abu-Sufyân ath-Thauri and abu-Yûsuf, he should pay the value of the tree he cuts and cannot have the wood for his use. The same view is held by abu-Ḥanîfah.

According to Mâlik ibn-Anas and ibn-abi-Dhi‘b, there is no harm in cutting the branches of the *thumâm* plant and the ends of the senna plant from the Ḥaram to be used as medicine or tooth-picks.

According to Sufyân ibn-Sa‘îd, abu-Ḥanîfah, and abu-Yûsuf, whatever in the Ḥaram is grown by man or was grown by him can be cut with impunity; whatever is grown without the agency of man, its cutter should be responsible for its value.

"I once," said al-Wâkidi, "asked ath-Thauri and abu-Yûsuf regarding the case of one who plants in the Ḥaram something that is not ordinarily grown and which he tends until it grows high, would it be right for him to cut it. They answered in the affirmative. Then I asked about the case of a tree that may grow of its own accord in his garden and that does not belong to the category of trees planted by man, and they said, 'He can do with it whatever he likes.'"

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâkidi:—The latter said, "It has been reported to us that ibn-‘Umar used to eat in Makkah vegetables grown in the Ḥaram."

Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from Mu‘âdh ibn-Muḥammad:—The latter said, "I have seen on the table of az-Zuhri vegetables grown in the Ḥaram."

"No pilgrim or visitor of the Ḥaram," said abu-Ḥanîfah, "shall have his camel graze in the Ḥaram, nor shall he cut grass for it." The same view is held by Zufar. But Mâlik, ibn-abi-Dhi‘b, Sufyân, abu-Yûsuf and ibn-abi-Sabrah are of the opinion that there is no

harm in having the animals graze, but the man should not cut the grass for them. Ibn-abi-Laila, however, holds that there is no harm in having someone cut the grass.

‘Affân and al‘Abbâs ibn-al-Walîd an-Narsi from Laith:—‘Atâ’ found no harm in using the vegetables of the Ḥaram as well as what is planted therein including the branches and the tooth-picks, but Mujâhid disapproved of it.

The history of the Ḥaram-mosque. The Ḥaram-mosque at the time of the Prophet and abu-Bakr had no wall to surround it. When ‘Umar, however, became caliph and the number of the Moslems increased, he enlarged the mosque and bought certain houses which he demolished to increase its size. Certain neighbors of the mosque refused to sell their houses and ‘Umar had to demolish their houses, the prices of which he deposited in the treasury of al-Ka‘bah until they took them later.^[30] Moreover he raised around the mosque a low wall not higher than a man's stature. On this wall the lamps were put. When ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân became caliph, he purchased certain dwellings and thereby enlarged the mosque. Certain people whose dwellings he seized after depositing their prices, met him near the "House" with loud protests, upon which ‘Uthmân addressed them as follows: "It is only my compassion on you and my leniency in dealing with you that made you venture to do this against me. ‘Umar did exactly what I am doing but ye kept silent and were satisfied." He then ordered them to jail where they remained until ‘Abdallâh ibn-Khâlîd ibn-Asîd^[31] ibn-abi-l-‘Îs spoke to him on their behalf and they were released.

It is reported that ‘Uthmân was the first to erect the porches of the mosque, which he did on the occasion of enlarging it.

In the days of Abraham, Jurhum and the ‘Amâlîk, the bottom of the door of the Ka‘bah was level with the ground until it was built by Ẓuraish, at which time abu-Ḥudhaifah ibn-al-Mughîrah said, "Raise, people, the door of the Ka‘bah, so that no one may enter without a ladder. Then would no man whom ye do not want to enter be able to do so. In case some one ye hate should come, ye may throw him down, and he will fall injuring those behind." The suggestion was followed by Ẓuraish.

When ‘Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair ibn-al-‘Auwâm fortified himself in the Ḥaram-mosque, taking refuge in it against al-Ḥuşain ibn-Numair as-Sakûni who was fighting with a Syrian army, one of ‘Abdallâh's followers carried one day burning fibres of a palm-tree on the top of a lance. The wind being violent, a spark flew and attached itself to the curtains of the Ka‘bah and burnt them. As a result, the walls were cracked, and turned black. This took place in the year 64. After the death of Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah and the departure of al-Ḥuşain ibn-Numair to Syria, ibn-az-Zubair ordered that the stones that had been thrown into it^[32] be removed, and they were removed. He then demolished the Ka‘bah, and rebuilt it on its old foundation, using stones in the building. He opened two doors on the ground, one to the east, and the other to the west; one for entrance and the other for exit. In building it he found that the foundation was laid on *al-Hijr*.^[33] His object was to give it the shape it had in the days of Abraham, as it had been described to him by ‘Â’ishah, *the mother of the believers*, on the authority of the Prophet.^[34] The doors of the Ka‘bah, ibn-az-Zubair plated with gold, and its keys he made of gold. When al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf fought on behalf of ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân and killed ibn-az-Zubair, ‘Abd-al-Malik wrote to al-Ḥajjâj ordering him to rebuild the Ka‘bah and the Ḥaram-mosque, the stones hurled at it having made cracks in the walls. Accordingly, al-Ḥajjâj pulled the Ka‘bah down and rebuilt it according to the shape given it by Ẓuraish,

removing all stones thereof. After this 'Abd-al-Malik often repeated, "I wish I had made ibn-az-Zubair do with the Ka'bah and its structure what he voluntarily undertook to do!"^[35]

The cover of the Ka'bah. In pre-Islamic times the cover of the Ka'bah consisted of pieces of leather and *ma'âfir*^[36] cloth. The Prophet covered it with Yamanite cloths, 'Umar and 'Uthmân clothed it in Coptic cloths, and Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah clothed it in Khusruwâni silk.^[37] After Yazîd, ibn-az-Zubair and al-Ḥajjâj clothed it in silk. The Umayyads during a certain part of their rule, clothed it in robes offered as tribute by the people of Najrân. The Umayyads used to strip^[38] the Ka'bah of its old covers when the cloths of silk were put on. At last came al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik who amplified the Ḥaram-mosque and conveyed to it columns of stone and marble, and mosaic. According to al-Wâḳidi, al-Manṣûr added to the mosque during his caliphate and rebuilt it. This took place in the year 139.

The reconstruction of the two mosques. It has been stated by 'Ali ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abdallâh al-Madâ'ini, that Ja'far ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs was made by al-Mahdi governor over Makkah, al-Madînah and al-Yamâmah. Ja'far enlarged the two mosques of Makkah and al-Madînah and rebuilt them.

Al-Mutawakkil—Ja'far ibn-abi-Ishâk al-Mu'tasim-Billâh ibn-ar-Rashîd Harûn ibn-al-Mahdi—renewed the marble of the Ka'bah, made a belt of silver around it, plated its walls and ceiling with gold—which act was unprecedented—, and clothed its pillars with silk.^[39]

Footnotes

1. Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 387; Hishâm, pp. 746–747, 803.
2. Hishâm, p. 806; Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 402; Fâkihi, p. 42.
3. Hishâm, p. 747; Caetani, vol. ii, p. 106; Wâḳidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 257, note 1; and *Fâ'ik*, vol. ii, p. 114.
4. Hishâm, p. 803; Fâkihi, pp. 49 and 144–145; Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 646.
5. Cf. Kor., 18: 10.
6. Fâkihi, p. 155; Wâḳidi, *Maghâzi*, p. 405.
7. Fâkihi, p. 150; *Fâ'ik*, vol. i, p. 338.
8. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 1621–1622.
9. Fâkihi, p. 153, *seq.*
10. "Khunais ibn-Khâlid" in Hishâm, p. 817.
11. Fâkihi, p. 154.
12. Kor., 17: 83.
13. Al-Wâḳidi, p. 414, calls him abu-Bardah; cf. ibn-Duraid, *Kitâb al-Ishtikâḳ*, p. 66; Nawâwi, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ'*, p. 788; Hishâm, p. 819.
14. Mawardi, pp. 229–230.
15. Hishâm, p. 819.
16. Hishâm, p. 821.
17. The sanctuary at Makkah; Azraqi, p. 17 *seq.*
18. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1642.

19. Kor., 12: 92.
20. Abu-Ishâk ash-Shirâzi, *at-Tanbîh*, p. 156.
21. A sweet rush resembling papyrus used for roofing houses.
22. Ar. *ṭuhûr*, according to other readings *ḡuhûr* "and for the roofs." See Wâḡidi, tr. Wellhausen, pp. 338–339.
23. Ar. *ḡuyûn*; Azraqi, p. 85, has *ḡubûr* "graves".
24. Muḡammad and abu-Bakr.
25. Caetani, vol. ii, p. 129, note 1.
26. ibn-Jabr; see an-Nawâwi, p. 540.
27. Azraqi, p. 5 *seq.*
28. Kor.. 22: 25.
29. Cf. Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, *al-l'âm*, p. 17.
30. Azraqi, p. 307.
31. or Usaid; see Azraqi, p. 307.
32. Cf. Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, p. 81.
33. The space comprised by the curved wall al-Ḥatim, which encompasses the Ka'bah on the north-west side.
34. Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, p. 81.
35. Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, p. 81.
36. A tribe in al-Yaman. See *Nihâyah*, vol. iii, p. 109; and cf. Yâḡût, vol. iv, p. 282.
37. Cf. Azraqi, p. 176; Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, p. 68.
38. Azraqi, p. 180.
39. Ḳuṭb-ad-Din, p. 54.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 8

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CHAPTER VIII

THE WELLS OF MAKKAH

BEFORE ʔuṣai brought ʔuraish together, and before they entered Makkah, they used for drinking purposes reservoirs, rain-water tanks on mountain tops, a well called al-Yusairah dug by Lu'ai ibn-Ghâlib outside the Ḥaram and another well called ar-Rawa dug by Murrah ibn-Ka'b and which lay just beyond 'Arafah. Later, Kilâb ibn-Murrah^[1] dug outside of Makkah three wells Khumm, Rumm and Jafr; and ʔuṣai ibn-Kilâb dug another which he called al-'Ajûl and prepared a drinking place in connection with it.^[2]

After the death of ʔuṣai a certain man of the banu-Naṣr ibn-Mu'âwiyah fell into al-'Ajûl well and it was no more used.

Badhdhar was a well dug by Hâshim ibn-'Abd-Manâf. It lies close to Khandamah at the mouth of abu-Ṭâlib's water-course. This Hâshim also dug Sajlah^[3] which Asad ibn-Hâshim gave to 'Adi ibn-Naufal ibn-'Abd-Manâf abu-l-Muṭ'im. It is asserted by some, however, that he sold it to him, and by others that it was 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib who gave it to him when he dug Zamzam and the water became abundant in Makkah. This Sajlah was later included in the Mosque.

'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manâf dug out at-Ṭawi which lay in the upper part of Makkah. He dug out another for his special use called al-Jafr. Maimûn ibn-al-Ḥaḍram, an ally of the banu-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manaf, dug his own well which was the last to be dug in Makkah during the pre-Islamic period. Near by this well, lies the tomb of al-Manṣûr the "Commander of the Believers." The first name of al-Ḥaḍrami was 'Abdallâh ibn-'Imâd.^[4] Besides, 'Abd-Shams dug two wells which he called Khumm and Rumm^[5] after Kilâb ibn-Murrah's wells. Khumm lay near the dam, and Rumm near Khadîjah's house.

Banu-Asad ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-ʔuṣai dug a well called Shufiyah, the well of the banu-Asad.^[6]

Umm-Aḥrâd was one dug by the banu-'Abd-ad-Dâr ibn-ʔuṣai.

Banu-Jumah dug as-Sunbulah well which is the same as the well of Khalaf ibn-Wahb al-Jumahi.

Banu-Sahm dug the well called al-Ghamr which is the well of al-'Âṣi ibn-Wâ'il.

Banu-‘Adi dug al-Ḥafir.

Banu-Makhzûm dug as-Sukya, the well of Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Umar ibn-Makhzûm.

Banu-Taim dug ath-Thuraiya which is the well of ‘Abdallâh ibn-Jud‘ân ibn-‘Amr ibn-Ka‘b ibn-Sa‘d ibn-Taim.

The banu-‘Âmir ibn-Lu‘ai dug an-Nak‘.

Jubair ibn-Muṭ‘im had a well—the banu-Naufal well, which has lately been included in Dâr al-Ḳawârîr erected by Ḥammâd al-Barbari in the caliphate of Harûn ar-Rashîd.^[7]

In the pre-Islamic period, ‘Aḳîl ibn-abi-Ṭâlib had dug a well which is now included in the house of ibn-Yûsuf.^[8]

Al-Aswad ibn-abi-l-Bakhtari ibn-Hâshim ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Asad ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Uzza had at al-Aswad gate near by al-Ḥannâṭîn [embalmers] a well that was later added into the Mosque.

‘Ikrimah well was named after ‘Ikrimah ibn-Khâlid ibn-al-‘Âṣi ibn-Hâshim ibn-al-Mughîrah; ‘Amr well, as well as ‘Amr water-course, after ‘Amr ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-Ṣafwân ibn-Umaiyyah ibn-Khalaf al-Jumâhi. At-Ṭalûb, which lay in the lower part of Makkah, was the property of ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ṣafwân. Ḥuwaiṭib well was named after Ḥuwaiṭib ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Uzza ibn-abi-Ḳais of banu-‘Âmir ibn-Lu‘ai, and it lay in the court of his house at the bottom of the valley. Abu-Mûsa well belonged to abu-Mûsa-l-Ash‘ari and lay at al-Ma‘lât. Shaudhab well was named after Shaudhab, Mu‘âwiyah's freedman, and was later added to the Mosque. Some say that this Shaudhab was the freedman of Ṭâriḳ ibn-‘Alḳamah ibn-‘Uraij ibn-Jadhîmah-l-Kinâni, others that he was the freedman of Nâfi‘ ibn-‘Alḳamah ibn-Ṣafwân ibn-Umaiyyah ... ibn-Shiḳḳ al-Kinâni, a maternal uncle of Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abi-l-‘Âṣi ibn-Umaiyyah. Bakkâr well was named after a man from al-‘Irâk who lived in Makkah, and it lay in dhu-Ṭuwa; Wardân well after Wardân, a freedman of as-Sâ‘ib^[9] ibn-abi-Wadâ‘ah ibn-Ḍubairah as-Sahmi. Sirâj drinking place lay in Fakh and belonged to Sirâj, a freedman of the banu-Hâshim. Al-Aswad well was named after al-Aswad ibn-Sufyân ... ibn-Makhzûm and lay near the well of Khâlîṣah, a freed-maid of al-Mahdi the "Commander of the Believers." Al-Barûd which lay in Fakh belonged to Mukhtarish^[10] al-Ka‘bi of [the tribe of] Khuzâ‘ah.

Certain houses and gardens in Makkah. According to ibn-al-Kalbi, the owner of ibn-‘Alḳamah house in Makkah was Ṭâriḳ ibn-‘Alḳamah ibn-‘Uraij ibn-Jadhîmah-l-Kinâni. According to abu-‘Ubaidah Ma‘mar ibn-al-Muthanna, ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Ḳuraib al-Aṣma‘i and others, ibn-‘Âmir garden was the property of ‘Umar ibn-‘Ubaidallâh ... ibn-Lu‘ai and was by mistake called ibn-‘Âmir or the banu-‘Âmir garden. In reality, it is ibn-Ma‘mar's garden. Others say that it was so called after ibn-‘Âmir al-Ḥaḍrami; still others, after ibn-‘Âmir ibn-Kuraiz, and all that is mere guessing.

I was told by Mus‘ab ibn-‘Abdallâh az-Zubairi that Makkah in pre-Islamic times was called Ṣalâh.

Ibn-Sibâ‘ jail. The following was told to me by al-‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi:—A certain Kindi inquired in writing from my father about the one after whom ibn-Sibâ‘ jail of al-Madînah was named, about the story of Dâr an-Nadwah, Dâr al-‘Ajalah, and Dâr

al-Ḳawârîr in Makkah. My father wrote back the following answer: "As for ibn-Sibâ' jail, it was a house for 'Abdallâh ibn-Sibâ' ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-Naḍlah ibn-'Amr ibn-Ghubshân al-Khuzâ'i. Sibâ' was surnamed abu-Niyâr and his mother was a midwife in Makkah. In the battle of Uḥud, he was challenged by Ḥamzah ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib who cried, 'Come, thou son of the female circumciser!'^[11] and killed him. As Ḥamzah stooped on his victim to take his armor, he was thrust with a spear by Waḥshi. The mother of the poet Ṭuraiḥ ibn-Ismâ'il ath-Thaḳafi was the daughter of 'Abdallâh ibn-Sibâ', an ally of the banu-Zuhrah.

Dâr an-Nadwah. As for an-Nadwah [council-chamber], it was built by Ḳuṣai ibn-Kilâb, and people used to meet in it and have the cases decided.^[12] Later, Ḳuraish used to assemble in it to consult about war and general affairs, to assign the standard-bearers and to contract marriages. This was the first house established in Makkah by Ḳuraish.

Dâr al-'Ajalah. Then comes Dâr al-'Ajalah which belonged to Sa'îd ibn-Sa'd ibn-Sahm. The banu-Sahm claim that it was built before an-Nadwah; but this is a false claim. An-Nadwah remained in the hands of the banu-'Abd-ad-Dâr ibn-Ḳuṣai until it was sold by 'Ikrimah ibn-Hâshim ibn-'Abd-Manâf ibn-'Abd-ad-Dâr ibn-Ḳuṣai to Mu'âwiyah ibn-abî-Sufyân, and the latter converted it into a governor's house.

Dâr al-Ḳawârîr. Dâr al-Ḳawârîr belonged to 'Utbah ibn-Rabî'ah ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-Manâf, then to al-'Abbâs ibn-'Utbah ibn-'Abd-Shams ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, and later to Ja'far's mother, Zubaidah, daughter of abu-l-Faḍl ibn-al-Manṣûr the "Commander of the Believers." Because earthen jars were partly used in making its pavement and walls, the hall was called al-Ḳawârîr [the jar building]. It was built by Hammâd al-Barbari in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd.

Ku'aiki'ân and Ajyâd. It was related by Hishâm ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi that 'Amr ibn-Muḍâḍ al-Jurhumi fought with another Jurhum man named as-Sumaida'. 'Amr appeared carrying arms that were rattling. Hence Ku'aiki'ân [rattling] the name of the place from which he appeared. As-Sumaida' appeared with bells covering his horses' necks. Hence Ajyâd [necks] the name of the place whence he appeared. According to ibn-al-Kalbi, it was said that he appeared with horses that were marked, hence the name Ajyâd [steeds]. The common people of Makkah, however, call it "Jiyâd aş-Ṣaghîr" and "Jiyâd al-Kabîr."

Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâliḥ from Kathîr ibn-'Abdallâh's grandfather, who said:—"We accompanied 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb on his visit in the year 17, and on the way were met by the owners of the wells, who asked 'Umar for permission to build dwelling places between Makkah and al-Madînah where, up to that time, no houses stood. 'Umar granted them permission, but imposed the condition that the wayfarer should have the first claim on the water and shade."

Footnotes

1. Azraqi, pp. 436, 439, 496; Hishâm, p. 95.
2. A few verses composed in regard to this and other wells have been omitted from the translation.
3. Bakri, p. 766; Fâkihi, p. 120.
4. Nawâwi, p. 432.

5. Bakri, pp. 318, 437–438.
6. Azraqi, p. 438.
7. Azraqi, p. 437.
8. Azraqi, p. 441.
9. Azraqi, p. 442, gives al-Muṭṭalib; *cf.* Hishâm, p. 462.
10. Azraqi, p. 442, gives Khirâsh.
11. "An expression of contumely used by the Arabs whether the mother is really a female circumciser or not." (*Tâj al-'Arûs.*)
12. Azraqi, pp. 65, 66; Diyârbakri, vol. i, p. 175; Ṭabari, vol, i, p. 1098; Iṣṭakhri, p. 16.

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CHAPTER IX

THE FLOODS IN MAKKAH

Umm-Nahshal flood. Al-‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from ibn-Kharrahûdh al-Makki and others: —Makkah was visited by four floods. One was umm-Nahshal flood which took place in the days of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb.^[1] This flood rose so high that it penetrated into the Mosque from the highest part of Makkah. ‘Umar therefore made two dams, the higher of which extended between the house of Babbah (so called by its occupants, the house being that of ‘Abdallâh ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-‘Abd-Manâf who ruled al-Baṣrah at the time of the insurrection of ibn-az-Zubair) and the house of Abân ibn-‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân. The lower dam lay at al-Ḥammârîn; and it is the one known as Âl-Âsîd dam. Thus was the flood kept back from the Haram mosque. According to the same tradition umm-Nahshal, the daughter of ‘Ubaidah^[2] ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Âṣi ibn-Umayyah, was carried away by the flood from the higher part of Makkah and therefore was the flood named after her.

Al-Juhâf w-al-Jurâf. Another flood was that of al-Juhâf w-al-Jurâf which took place in the year 80 in the time of ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân. It overtook the pilgrims on a Monday morning and carried them away together with their baggage, and surrounded the Ka‘bah. About this the poet said:

"Ghassân never saw a day like Monday,
when so many were saddened and so many eyes wept;
and when the flood carried away the people of al-Miṣrain^[3]
and made the secluded women run astray climbing the mountains."^[4]

On this occasion, ‘Abd-al-Malik wrote to his ‘âmil in Makkah, ‘Abdallâh ibn-Sufyân al-Makhzûmi—others say that the poet al-Ḥârith ibn-Khâlid al-Makhzûmi was his ‘âmil—ordering him to build walls without clay around the houses that bordered on the valley, and around the Mosque, and to erect dams at the openings of the roads, so that the houses should be secure. To this effect, he sent a Christian who made the walls and set up the dam known as the banu-Ḳurâd's or banu-Jumah's. Other dams were constructed in lower Makkah. A poet says:

One drop of tears I shall keep, the other I shall pour forth,
"if I pass the dam of the banu-Ḳurâd."

Al-Mukhabbil. Another flood was the one called al-Mukhabbil. When it came, many were afflicted with a disease in their body and palsy in their tongues. Hence the name al-Mukhabbil [rendering some limb crippled].

Abu-Shâkir. Still another flood came later in the caliphate of Hishâm ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik in the year 120. It is known as abu-Shâkir flood after Maslamah ibn-Hishâm, who in that year had charge of the fair [of the pilgrims].

Wâdi-Makkah. The flood of Wâdi-Makkah comes from a place known as Sidrat ʿAttâb ibn-Asîd ibn-abi-l-Îs.

The flood in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd. It was reported by ʿAbbâs ibn-Hishâm that a great flood took place in the caliphate of al-Maʾmûm ʿAbdallâh ibn-ar-Rashîd; and its water rose almost as high as the "stone."^[5]

The limits of al-Ḥaram. Al-ʿAbbâs from ʿIkrimah:—A part of the limits set to al-Ḥaram having been obliterated in the days of Muʿâwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân, he wrote to Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam, his ʿâmil in al-Madînah, ordering him to ask Kurz ibn-ʿAlqamah-l-Khuzâʿi, if he were still alive, to establish the limits of al-Ḥaram, since he was familiar with them. Kurz was still alive; and he established the limits which are today the marks of al-Ḥaram. According to al-Kalbi, this was Kurz ibn-ʿAlqamah ibn-Hilâl ibn-Juraibah ibn-ʿAbd-Nuhm ibn-Hulail ibn-Hubshîyah-l-Khuzâʿi, the one who followed the steps of the Prophet to the cave in which the Prophet, accompanied by abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq, had disappeared, when he wanted to take the Hegira to al-Madînah. Kurz saw on the cave a spider web, and below it, the Prophet's foot-print which he recognized saying, "This is the Prophet's foot, but here the track is lost."

Footnotes

1. Azraqi, pp. 394–398.
2. Azraqi, pp. 394–395: "'Ubaid".
3. Al-Baṣrah and al-Kûfah.
4. Cf. Azraqi, p. 396.
5. The "black stone" of al-Kaʿbah; Azraqi, p. 397.

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CHAPTER X

Aṭ-ṬĀ'IF

The Prophet lays siege to aṭ-ṬĀ'if. When the Hawâzin were defeated in the battle of Ḥunain, and Duraid ibn-aṣ-Ṣimmah was slain, the surviving remnant came to Awṭâs. The Prophet sent them abu-ʿĀmir al-Ashʿari who was put to death. Then abu-Mûsa ʿAbdallâh ibn-Ḳais al-Ashʿari took the command and the Moslems advanced on Awṭâs. Seeing that, the chief of the Hawâzin at that time, Mâlik ibn-ʿAuf ibn-Saʿd of banu-Duhmân ibn-Naṣr ibn-Muʿâwiyah ibn-Bakr ibn-Hawâzin, fled to aṭ-ṬĀ'if, whose people he found ready for the siege with their fortress repaired and the provisions gathered therein. Here he settled. The Prophet led the Moslems until they got to aṭ-ṬĀ'if. Thakîf hurled stones and arrows on the Moslems, and the Prophet set a ballista on the fortress. The Moslems had a mantelet^[1] made of cows' skins on which Thakîf threw hot iron bars and burnt it, killing the Moslems underneath. The siege of aṭ-ṬĀ'if by the Prophet lasted for fifteen days,^[2] the invasion having begun in Shawwâl, in the year 8.

Certain slaves surrender. Certain slaves from aṭ-ṬĀ'if presented themselves before the Prophet. Among them were abu-Bakrah ibn-Masrûh,—[later] the Prophet's freedman, and whose [first] name was Nufaiʿ—, and al-Azraḳ—after whom the Azâriḳah were named, who was a Greek blacksmith and slave, and whose [full] name was abu-Nâfiʿ ibn-al-Azraḳ al-Khâriji. For doing so, these slaves were set free.^[3] It is claimed by others, however, that Nâfiʿ ibn-Azraḳ al-Khâriji was of the banu-Ḥanîfah and that the al-Azraḳ who came from aṭ-ṬĀ'if was another man.

The terms of capitulation. Then the Prophet left for al-Jiʿrânah to divide the captives and the booty of Ḥunain.^[4] Thakîf, fearing lest he should return, sent a deputation with whom he made terms stipulating that they become Moslem, and keep what they possess in the form of money or buried treasures.^[5] The Prophet imposed a condition on them that they would neither practise usury nor drink wine. They were addicted to usury. To this end, he wrote them a statement.

The old name of aṭ-ṬĀ'if was Wajj. When it was fortified and surrounded by a wall it was called aṭ-ṬĀ'if.

The Jews in aṭ-ṬĀ'if. Al-Madâʿini from certain *sheikhs* from aṭ-ṬĀ'if:—In the district of aṭ-ṬĀ'if lived some Jews driven from al-Yaman and Yathrib, who had settled there for trade. On them poll-tax was imposed. It was from some of them that Muʿâwiyah bought

his possessions in at-Ṭâ'if.

The land of at-Ṭâ'if is included in the district of Makkah. Al-Abbâs ibn-ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib had a piece of land in at-Ṭâ'if from which grapes were taken and made into the beverage used for the Pilgrims. The men of ʔuraish had possessions in at-Ṭâ'if to which they came from Makkah to repair. The conquest of Makkah and the conversion of its people to Islam made Ṭaḳîf covet and lay hold on these possessions, but with the conquest of at-Ṭâ'if, they were again put in the hands of the Makkans, and in fact all the land of at-Ṭâ'if became one of the districts of Makkah.

Abu-Sufyân loses his eye. It was in the battle of at-Ṭâ'if that abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb lost his eye.^[6]

The zakât from Ṭaḳîf on grapes and dates. Al-Walîd ibn-Ṣâlih from ʿAttâb ibn-Asʿid:—The Prophet ordered that the vine-trees of Ṭaḳîf be estimated as in the case of dates and that the *zakât* [legal alms] be taken in the form of raisins, as in the case of dates.

According to al-Wâḳidi, abu-Ḥanîfah says: "The vine-trees are not estimated, but when the produce, whether large or small, is gathered the *zakât* is taken."

According to Yaʿḳûb: "If the produce is gathered and the weight of it is five *wasḳs* [loads] then its *zakât* is one-tenth or half of one-tenth." The same view is held by Sufyân ibn-Saʿîd ath-Thauri. The *wasḳ* is equal to 60 ṣâʿs.^[7]

Mâlik ibn-Anas and ibn-abi-Dhiʿb state that according to the commended practice [Ar. *sunnah*] the *zakât* on grape is taken by estimation as in the case of dates.^[8]

The zakât on honey. Shaibân ibn-abi-Shaibah from ʿAmr ibn-Shuʿaib :—A ʿâmil of ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb in at-Ṭâ'if wrote to ʿUmar, "Those who own honey fail to contribute to us what they used to contribute to the Prophet, i. e., one vase out of each ten." ʿUmar wrote back to him, "If they would contribute, thou shouldst protect their valleys, otherwise do not."

ʿAmr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâḳid from ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ishâḳ's grandfather:—ʿUmar assessed one-tenth in the case of honey.

Daʿûd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥamîd the *ḳâḍi* of ar-Raḳḳah from Khaṣîf:—ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz wrote to his ʿâmil in Makkah and at-Ṭâ'if, "There is *ṣadaḳah* on the bee-hives. Therefore, take it thereof." According to al-Wâḳidi, it has been reported that ibn-ʿUmar said, "There is no *ṣadaḳah* on hives." According to Mâlik and ath-Thauri, no *zakât* is taken on honey though it may be in great quantities.^[9] The same is the view of ash-Shâfiʿi.^[10] According to abu-Ḥanîfah, if the honey is raised in a tithe-land the tithe is taken whether the honey is much or little; but if it is raised in the *kharâj*-land, nothing is to be taken, because both *zakât* and *kharâj* cannot be taken from one and the same man.

Al-Wâḳidi states that he was told by al-Ḳâsim ibn-Maʿn and Yaʿḳûb that abu-Ḥanîfah said: "If honey is raised in the land of a *dhimmi* there is no tithe on it, but there is *kharâj* on the land. And if it is produced in the land of a Taghlabi^[11] one-fifth is taken thereof." The same view is held by Zufar. According to abu-Yûsuf,^[12] if the honey is produced in the *kharâj*-land, it is exempt of everything; but if in the tithe land, one *ratl*^[13] is taken out of ten.

According to Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan, no *ṣadaqah* whatever is taken on what is less than five *faraks*.^[14] The same view is held by ibn-abi-Dhi'b.

It was reported by Khâlid ibn-ʿAbdallâh at-Ṭaḥḥân that ibn-abi-Laila said, "Whether it is produced in the tithe-or *kharâj*-land, one *raʿl* is due on every ten. The same view is held by al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣâlih ibn-Ḥai.

A tradition reported to me by abu-ʿUbaid on the authority of az-Zuhri states that the latter held that one vase [Ar. *zikḳ*]^[15] is due on every ten.

The tithe on fruits and grains. Yahya ibn-Ādam from Bishr ibn-ʿĀṣim and ʿUthmân ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-Aus:—Sufyân ibn-ʿAbdallâh ath-Thaḳafî wrote to ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, whose *ʿamil* he was in at-Taʿif, stating that before him was the case of a garden in which vine-trees grow, as well as plum and pomegranate trees and other things that are many folds more productive than vines, and soliciting 'Umar's orders regarding the taking of its tithe. But 'Umar wrote back, "No tithes on it."

It was stated by Yahya ibn-Adam that he heard Sufyan ibn-Sa'id (whose view is the following) say: "There is no *sadakah* except on four of the products of the soil, i. e., wheat, barley, dates and raisins, provided the product measures five wasks." 2 But abu-Hani fan's view is that whatever the tithe-land produces is subject to the tithe, though it be a bundle of vegetables. The same view is held by Zufar. But according to the view of Malik, ibn-abi-Dhi'b and Ya'kub, vegetables and the like are not subject to *sadakah*. Nor is there *sadakah* on what is less than five wasks of wheat, barley, maize, husked barley, tare, dates, raisins, rice, sesame, peas and the grains that can be measured and stored, including lentils, beans, Indian peas and millet. If any of these measure five wasks, then it is subject to *sadakah*. The same view, according to al-Wakidi, is held by Rabi'ah ibn-

2 Yahya ibn-'Adam, *Kitab al-Kharaj*, pp. 109-110. abi-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân. According to az-Zuhri all spices and pulse^[16] is subject to *zakât*. Mâlik holds that no *ṣadaqah* is due on pears, plums, pomegranates or the rest of the fresh fruits. The same view is held by ibn-abi-Laila. According to abu-Yûsuf, there is no *ṣadaqah* except on what can be measured by *al-ḳafîz*.^[17] Abu-az-Zinâd ibn-abi-Dhi'b and ibn-abi-Sabrah hold that no *ṣadaqah* is taken on vegetables and fruits, but there is *ṣadaqah* on their prices the moment they are sold.

A tradition was communicated to me by ʿAbbâs ibn-Hishâm on the authority of his grandfather to the effect that the Prophet assigned ʿUthmân ibn-abi-l-ʿĀṣi ath-Thaḳafî as his *ʿamil* in at-Ṭâʿif.

Footnotes

1. Ar. *dabbâbah*—a machine made of skins and wool, men enter into it and it is propelled to the lower part of a fortress where the men, protected from what is thrown upon them, try to make a breach. See Zaidân, *Taʿrîkh at-Tamaddun al-Islâmî*, vol. i, p. 143.
2. Cf. Hishâm, p. 872.
3. Cf. Hishâm, p. 874.
4. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1670; abu-l-Fida, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. i, p. 147 (Cairo, 1325).

5. Ar. *ar-rikâs*, treasures buried in pre-Islamic days; Bukhâri, vol. i, p. 381; Mawardi, p. 207.
6. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 124.
7. Yaḥya ibn-Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 100.
8. Mâlik ibn-Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa*, pp. 116–117; and *cf.* Shâfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vol. ii², p. 27.
9. *Muwaṭṭa*, p. 121.
10. *Umm*, vol. ii², p. 33.
11. Banu-Taghlib were Christian Arabs on whom 'Umar-ibn al-Khaṭṭâb doubled the tax. See abu-Yûsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 68.
12. Yûsuf, p. 40.
13. A *raṭl* is about 5 pounds.
14. A *faraḵ* is 16 *raṭls*. *Nihâyah*, vol. iii, p. 196.
15. A receptacle of skin for holding wine and the like.
16. Seed of a leguminous plant that is cooked.
17. Adam, p. 101.

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CHAPTER XI

TABÂLAH AND JURASH

BAKR ibn-al-Haitham from az-Zuhri:—The people of Tabâlah and Jurash^[1] accepted Islam without resistance.^[2] The Prophet left them on the terms agreed upon when they became Moslems, imposing on every adult of the "People of the book"^[3] among them one *dînâr*, and making it a condition on them to provide the Moslem wayfarers with board and lodging. Abu-Sufyân ibn-Harb was assigned by the Prophet as the governor of Jurash.

Footnotes

1. Cities in al-Yaman; Bakri, pp. 191 and 238; Hamdâni, *Jazîrat al-ʿArab*, p. 127, line 19; Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 817 and vol. ii, p. 60.
2. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1730.
3. Jews and Christians.

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CHAPTER XII

TABÛK, AILAH, ADHRUH, MAḲNA AND AL-JARBÂ'

Tabûk makes terms. When in the year 9 the Prophet marched to Tabûk in Syria for the invasion of those of the Greeks, 'Āmilah, Lakhm, Judhâm and others whom he learnt had assembled against him, he met no resistance.^[1] So he spent a few days in Tabûk, whose inhabitants made terms with him agreeing to pay poll-tax.

Ailah makes terms. During his stay at Tabûk, there came to him Yuḥanna ibn-Ru'bah, the chief of Ailah, and made terms, agreeing to pay on every adult in his land one *dînâr per annum* making it 300 *dînârs* in all. The Prophet made it a condition on them that they provide with board and lodging whomsoever of the Moslems may pass by them. To this effect he wrote them a statement^[2] that they may be kept safe and protected.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Ṭalhah-l-Aili:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz never raised the tax of the people of Ailah above 300 *dînârs*.^[3]

Adhruh makes terms. The Prophet made terms with the people of Adhruh^[4] stipulating that they pay 100 *dînârs* in Rajab of every year.

Al-Jarbâ' makes terms. The people of al-Jarbâ'^[5] made terms and agreed to pay poll-tax. To this effect the Prophet wrote them a statement.

Maḡna makes terms. The people of Maḡna made terms with the Prophet, agreeing to offer one-fourth of what they fish and spin, one-fourth of their horses and coats of mail, and one-fourth of their fruits. The inhabitants of Maḡna were Jews.^[6] An Egyptian told me that he saw with his own eye the statement that the Prophet wrote them on a red parchment, the writing on which was partly effaced, and which he copied and dictated to me as follows:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to the banu-Ḥabîbah and the inhabitants of Maḡna: peace be with you. It has been revealed unto me from above that ye are to return to your village. From the time this my letter reaches you, ye shall be safe ; and ye have the assurance of security from Allah and from his Messenger. Verily, the Messenger of Allah has forgiven you your sins and all blood for which ye have been pursued. In your village, ye shall have no partner but the Messenger of Allah or the Messenger's messenger. There shall be no

oppression on you nor hostility against you. Against whatever the Prophet of Allah protects himself, he will protect you. Only to the Prophet of Allah shall belong your cloth-stuff, slaves, horses^[7] and coats of mail, save what the Prophet or the Prophet's messenger shall exempt. Besides that, ye shall give one-fourth of what your palm-trees produce, one-fourth of the product of your nets, and one-fourth of what is spun by your women; but all else shall be your own; and God's Prophet has exempted you from all further poll-tax or forced labor. Now, if ye hear and obey, it will be for the Prophet to do honor to the honorable among you and pardon those among you who do the wrong. Whosoever of the banu-Ḥabîbah and the inhabitants of Maḡna bethinks himself to do well to the Moslems, it shall be well for him; and whosoever means mischief to them, mischief shall befall him. Ye are to have no ruler save of your number of the family of the Prophet. Written by 'Ali-ibn-abu-Ṭâlib^[8] in the year 9."

Footnotes

1. Ibn-Saʿd, vol. ii¹, p. 118; Hishâm, p. 893; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1692.
2. Hishâm, p. 902.
3. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, p. 173.
4. Yâḡûṭ, vol. i, p. 174; Iṣṭakhri, p. 58; Muḡaddasi, p. 54.
5. Yâḡûṭ, vol. ii, p. 46.
6. Wâḡidi, tr. Wellhausen, p. 405.
7. Ar. *kurâʿ*, see *Nihâyah*, vol. iv, p. 16; and Muṭarrizi, vol. ii, p. 148; Margoliouth translates "camp-followers" in Zaidân's *Umayyads and Abbasids*, p. 121.
8. *Sic!* Being genitive, it should be "abi". See note in De Goeje's edition, p. 60.

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CHAPTER XIII

DÛMAT AL-JANDAL

Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd captures Ukaidir. The Prophet sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmi to Ukaidir ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik al-Kindi, later as-Sakûni, at Dûmat al-Jandal.^[1] Khâlid took him captive, killed his brother, robbed him of a silk cloak^[2] interwoven with gold, and brought Ukaidir before the Prophet. Ukaidir accepted Islam,^[3] upon which the Prophet wrote for him and the people of Dûmat the following statement:—

"This is a statement from Muḥammad, the Prophet of Allah, to Ukaidir as he accepted Islam and forsook the objects of worship and idols, and to the people of Dûmat:—To us shall belong the water-places outside the city, the untilled lands, the deserts and waste lands, as well as the defensive and offensive weapons, the horses, and the fortress; and to you shall belong the palm-trees within the city, and the running water. Your cattle which are pasturing shall not, for the purpose of taking the *ṣadaqah*, be brought together [but shall be numbered on the pasture-land], and what is above the fixed number of animals from which a *ṣadaqah* is required shall not be taken into consideration.^[4] Your herds shall graze wherever ye want, and ye shall observe prayer in its time, and pay the *zakât* as it is due. To this effect, I give you the covenant of Allah and his promise, and ye are entitled to our sincerity as regards the fulfillment of the terms. Witnessed by Allah and those of the Moslems who are present."

Ukaidir violates the covenant. Al-‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his grandfather:—The Prophet sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd to Ukaidir. Ukaidir was brought by Khâlid before the Prophet; he became a Moslem, and the Prophet wrote him a statement. But no sooner had the Prophet been dead, than Ukaidir stopped the payment of the *ṣadaqah*, violated the covenant and left Dûmat al-Jandal for al-Ḥîrah, where he erected a building and called it Dûmat after Dûmat al-Jandal. His brother, however, Ḥuraith^[5] ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik embraced Islam and thereby entered into possession of the property held by his brother.^[6]

Ḥuraith's daughter marries. Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah married the daughter of Ḥuraith, Ukaidir's brother.

Abu-Bakr sends Khâlid against Ukaidir. Al-‘Abbâs from ‘Awânah ibn-al-Ḥakam:—Abu-Bakr wrote to Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd, when the latter was at ‘Ain at-Tamr, ordering him to go against Ukaidir, which he did, killing Ukaidir and capturing Dûmat. After the death of the Prophet, Ukaidir left Dûmat and then returned to it. Having killed him, Khâlid went to Syria.

Laila daughter of al-Jûdi a captive. According to al-Wâkidi, on Khâlid's way from al-‘Irâk to Syria, he passed through Dûmat al-Jandal, which he captured, carrying away many captives, among whom were Laila, the daughter of al-Jûdi-l-Ghassâni. Others say Laila was carried away by Khâlid's horsemen from a Ghassân settlement stationed by a watering-place [*ḥâḍir*]. It was this daughter of al-Jûdi whom ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abi-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq had fallen in love with, and the one whom he meant when he said:

"I thought of Laila with as-Samâwah^[7] intervening between;
and what has the daughter of al-Jûdi to do with me?"

Thus did he win her hand and marry her. But such a hold had she on him that he gave up all his other wives. At last, however, she was affected with such a severe disease that her looks were changed and he no more liked her. He was advised to give her what is usually given at divorce^[8] and send her to her own people, which he did.

Al-Wâkidi's version of the conquest. According to al-Wâkidi, the Prophet led the invasion against Dûmat al-Jandal in the year 5 and met no resistance. In Shawwâl, year 9, he sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd to Ukaidir, twenty months after the former had embraced Islam.

The reconstruction of Dûmat al-Jandal. I heard it said by someone from al-Ḥîrah that Ukaidir and his brothers used to go to Dûmat al-Ḥîrah and visit their uncles of the Kalb tribe and spend some time with them. One day as they were together on a hunting trip, there arose before their view a city in ruins with only few walls standing. The city was built of stones [Ar. *jandal*]. This city they rebuilt, planted in it olive- and other trees, and called it Dûmat al-Jandal in distinction from Dûmat al-Ḥîrah.^[9]

Az-Zuhri's version of the conquest. ‘Amr ibn-Muḥammad an-Nâkîd from az-Zuhri:—The Prophet sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd ibn-al-Mughîrah to the people of Dûmat al-Jandal who were some of the Christians of al-Kûfah. Khâlid captured Ukaidir, their chief, and arranged to receive poll-tax from him.

Footnotes

1. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 625.
2. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 1702–1703.
3. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 142; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 214.
4. Cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. iii, p. 419.
5. Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. i, p. 773, by mistake gives "Ḥuraib".
6. One verse omitted.

7. A desert from Dûmat to ‘Ain at-Tamr; Iṣṭakhri, p. 23.

8. Ar. *mut‘ah. Muwaṭṭa*, p. 208.

9. Caetani, vol. ii, p. 263.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 14

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CAPITULATION OF NAJRÂN

The terms agreed upon. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from az-Zuhri:—There came to the Prophet the military chief and the civil chief,^[1] delegated by the people of Najrân in al-Yaman, and asked for terms which they made on behalf of the people of Najrân, agreeing to offer two thousand robes—one thousand in Şafar and one thousand in Rajab—each one of which should have the value of one ounce [*aukiyah*], the ounce weighing 40 *dirhams*. In case the price of the robe delivered should be more than one ounce, the surplus would be taken into consideration; and if it were less, the deficiency should be made up. And whatever weapons, horses, camels or goods they offered, should be accepted instead of the robes, if they are the same value. Another condition was made that they provide board and lodging for the Prophet's messengers for a month or less, and not detain them for more than a month. Still another condition was that in case of war in al-Yaman, they are bound to offer as loan thirty coats of mail, thirty mares and thirty camels, and whatever of these animals perish, the messengers [of the Prophet] guarantee to make up for them. To this effect, the Prophet gave them Allah's covenant and his promise. Another condition was that they be not allured to change their religion or the rank they hold in it, nor should they be called upon for military service or made to pay the tithe.^[2] The Prophet made it a condition on them that they neither take nor give usury.

The two monks of Najrân and the Prophet. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from al-Ḥasan:—There came to the Prophet two monks from Najrân.^[3] The Prophet proposed Islâm to them, and they replied, "We embraced Islâm before thou didst." To this the Prophet replied, "Ye have told a lie. Three things keep you from Islâm: pork eating, cross-worship and the claim that Allah has a son." "Well then," said they, "who is 'Îsa's father?" Al-Ḥasan adds that the Prophet was never too quick but always waited for Allah's command. Hence the text revealed by his Lord:^[4] "These signs and this wise warning do we rehearse to thee. Verily, Jesus is as Adam in the sight of Allah. He created him of dust: He then said to him, 'Be'—and he was," etc. to "on those who lie."

This the Prophet repeated to them and then asked them to join with him in imprecating the curse of Allah upon whichever of them was wrong,^[5] taking hold of the hands of Fâtimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. At this, one of the two monks said to the other, "Climb the mountain and do not join with him in imprecating the curse, for if thou shouldst,

thou wouldst return with the curse on thee." "What shall we do then?" asked the other. "I believe," said the former, "we had better give him the *kharâj* rather than join with him in imprecating the curse."^[6]

A statement of the treaty. Al-Husain from Yahya ibn-Âdam who said:—"I copied the statement of the Prophet to the people of Najrân from that of a man who took it from al-Hasan ibn-Şâlih. These are the words:

'In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. The following is what the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad, wrote to Najrân, at whose disposal^[7] were all their fruits, their gold, silver and domestic utensils, and their slaves, but which he benevolently left for them, assessing on them two thousand robes each having the value of one *aukiyah*, one thousand to be delivered in Rajab of every year, and one thousand in Şafar of every year. Each robe shall be one *aukiyah*; and whatever robes cost more or less than one *aukiyah*, their overcost or deficiency shall be taken into consideration; and whatever coats of mail, horses, camels or goods they substitute for the robes shall be taken into consideration. It is binding on Najrân to provide board and lodging for my messengers^[8] for one month or less, and never to detain them for more than a month. It is also binding on them to offer as loan thirty coats of mail, thirty mares and thirty camels, in case of war in al-Yaman due to their rebelling. Whatever perishes of the horses or camels, lent to my messengers, is guaranteed by my messengers and is returned by them. Najrân and their followers^[9] are entitled to the protection of Allah and to the security of Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of Allah, which security shall involve their persons, religion, lands and possessions, including those of them who are absent as well as those who are present, their camels, messengers and images.^[10] The state they previously held shall not be changed, nor shall any of their religious services or images be changed. No attempt shall be made to turn a bishop from his office as a bishop, a monk from his office as a monk, nor the sexton of a church from his office, whether what is under the control of each is great or little. They shall not be held responsible for any wrong deed or blood shed in pre-Islamic time. They shall neither be called to military service nor compelled to pay the tithe. No army shall tread on their land. If some one demands of them some right, then the case is decided with equity without giving the people of Najrân the advantage over the other party, or giving the other party the advantage over them. But whosoever of them has up till now^[11] received usury, I am clear of the responsibility of his protection.^[12] None of them, however, shall be held responsible for the guilt of the other. And as a guarantee to what is recorded in this document, they are entitled to the right of protection from Allah, and to the security of Muhammad the Prophet, until Allah's order is issued, and so long as they give the right counsel [to Moslems] and render whatever dues are bound on them, provided they are not asked to do anything unjust. Witnessed by abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb, Ghailân ibn-ʿAmr, Mâlik ibn-ʿAuf of banu-Naşr, al-Akraʿ ibn-Ḥâbis al-Ḥanzali and al-Mughîrah. Written by—"^[13]

Yahya ibn-Âdam adds, "I have seen in the hands of the people of Najrân another statement whose reading is similar to that of this copy, but at the close of it the following words occur: Written by ʿAli ibn-abu-Ṭâlib."^[14] Concerning this I am at a loss to know what to say."

ʿUmar expels them. When abu-Bakr aṣ-Şiddîk became caliph he enforced the terms agreed upon and issued another statement similar to that given by the Prophet. When ʿUmar ibn-al-Khattab became caliph, they began to practise usury, and became so

numerous as to be considered by him a menace to Islâm. He therefore expelled them and wrote to them the following statement:

"Greetings! Whomever of the people of Syria and al-ʿIrâq they happen to come across, let him clear for them tillable land; and whatever land they work, becomes theirs in place of their land in al-Yaman." Thus the people of Najrân were dispersed, some settling in Syria and others in an-Najrâniyah in the district of al-Kûfah, after whom it was so named. The Jews of Najrân were included with the Christians in the terms and went with them as their followers.

The Najranites under ʿUthmân. When ʿUthmân ibn-ʿAffân became caliph, he wrote to his ʿâmil in al-Kûfah, al-Walîd ibn-ʿUkbah ibn-abi-Muʿait, as follows:

"Greetings! The civil ruler, the bishop and the nobles of Najrân have presented to me the written statement of the Prophet and showed me the recommendation^[15] of ʿUmar. Having made inquiry regarding their case from ʿUthmân ibn-Hunaif, I learned that he had investigated their state and found it injurious to the great landlords^[16] whom they prevented from possessing their land. I have, therefore, reduced their taxation by 200 robes—for the sake of Allah and in place of their old lands. I recommend them to thee as they are included among the people entitled to our protection."

Another source for ʿUmar's statement. I heard it said by one of the learned that ʿUmar wrote them the following statement:—"Greetings! Whomsoever of the people of Syria or al-ʿIrâq they pass by, let him clear for them tillable land". Another I heard say, "waste land".

One reason for their expulsion. ʿAbd-al-Aʿla ibn-Hammâd an-Narsi from ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAziz:—The Prophet said during his illness, "There shall not remain two religions in the land of Arabia." Consequently, when ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb became caliph, he expelled the people of Najrân to an-Najrâniyah and bought their properties and possessions.

Al-ʿAbbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from his grandfather:—The Najrân of al-Yaman received their name from Najrân ibn-Zaid ibn-Saba ibn-Yashjub ibn-Yaʿrub ibn-Ḳaḥṭân.

ʿUmar and ʿAli refuse to reinstate them in the land. Al-Husain ibn-al-Aswad from Sâlim ibn-abi-l-Jaʿd:—The people of Najrân having increased in number to 40,000, became jealous of one another and came to ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb saying, "Transplant us from the land". ʿUmar had considered them a menace to the Moslems, so he took this opportunity and expelled them from the land. Later, however, they repented, and returning to ʿUmar said, "Reinstate us in the land", but ʿUmar refused. When ʿAli ibn-abi-Tâlib became caliph, they came to him and said, "We plead with thee by thy right-hand writing and thy intermediacy on our behalf with thy Prophet that thou mayst reinstate us in the land." To this ʿAli replied: "ʿUmar was a man of sound judgment, and I hate to act differently."^[17]

The number of robes received by Muʿâwiyah. Abu-Masʿûd al-Kûfi from al-Kalbi:—The chief of an-Najrâniyah at al-Kûfah used to send his messengers to all the people of Najrân who were in Syria and other districts and to gather money assessed evenly on them for raising the required robes. When Muʿâwiyah (or Yazîd ibn-Muʿâwiyah) came to power, they complained to him because of their dispersion, the death of some of them, and the conversion to Islâm of others. They also presented the statement issued

by 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân for the reduction of the number of robes. To this they added, "And now we have still more decreased, and become weaker." He then reduced the number by another 200 robes, thus reducing the original number by four hundred.

Al-Hajjâj restores the number. When al-Hajjâj ibn-Yûsuf was made governor of al-'Irâq and ibn-al-Ash'ath revolted against him, the former charged the non-Arab landlords and the people of Najrân with siding with the latter, and, therefore, he raised the number to 1,800 robes, and ordered that the robes be of the kind adorned with figures.

'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz reduces the number. When 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz came to power, they complained to him that they were in danger of extinction, that they were decreasing in number, that the continuous raids of the Arabs overburdened them with heavy taxes for revictualling them, and that they suffered from the unjust treatment of al-Hajjâj. By 'Umar's orders their census was taken, and it was found that they were reduced to one-tenth of their original number, upon which 'Umar said, "I consider that the terms of this capitulation impose a tax on their heads and not on their lands. The poll-tax of the dead and the Moslems, however, is annulled." He therefore held them responsible for 200 robes of the value of 8,000 *dirhams*.

Yûsuf ibn-'Umar restores the original tax. In the time of al-Walîd ibn-Yazîd, when Yûsuf ibn-'Umar was made governor of al-'Irâq, he [Yûsuf], moved with partisanship to al-Hajjâj, charged them the original tax.

Abu-l-'Abbâs reduces the number of robes. When abu-l-'Abbâs was proclaimed caliph, they met him on the way as he appeared in al-Kûfah and strewed myrtle branches on the road and threw some on him as he was going home from the mosque. With this the caliph was greatly pleased. Later they brought their case before him and told him of their paucity in number and of their treatment by 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz and Yûsuf ibn-'Umar. To this they added, "We are somehow related to thy uncles (on the mother's side), the banu-l-Hârith ibn-Ka'b." 'Abdallâh ibn-ar-Rabî' al-Hârithi spoke in their favor; and al-Hajjâj ibn-Ar'ât confirmed what they claimed. Therefore, abu-l-'Abbâs held them responsible only for the 200 robes previously given by them, having a value of 8,000 *dirhams*.

Ar-Rashîd writes them a favorable statement. Abu-Mas'ûd said, "When ar-Rashîd Hârûn became caliph and started for al-Kûfah on his way to the Pilgrimage, they brought their case before him and complained of the harsh treatment of the *'âmil*s. By the caliph's orders there was written to them a statement fixing the number at 200 robes. The statement I myself saw. Moreover the caliph ordered that they be freed from dealing with the *'âmil*s, and that they pay the dues directly to the treasury."

'Amr an-Nâkîd from ibn-Shihâb az-Zuhri:—The following text was revealed against the unbelievers among the Kuraish and the Arabs,^[18] "Fight therefore against them until there is no more civil discord, and the only worship be that of Allah," and the following against the "People of the Book."^[19] "Make war upon such of those to whom the Book has been given as believe not in Allah, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which Allah and his Messenger have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth," etc. to "humbled." Thus the first among the "People of the Book" to pay poll-tax, so far as we know, were the people of Najrân who were Christian. Then, the people of Ailah, Adhruh and Adhri'ât paid it in the battle of Tabûk.

Footnotes

1. Hishâm, p. 401.
2. *Cf.* Yûsuf, pp. 40–41.
3. Yâķût, vol. iv, pp. 751–757.
4. Kor., 3: 51.
5. *Cf.* Kor., 3: 54.
6. *mubâhalah*. Bukhâri, vol. iii, pp. 167–168; abu-l-Faraj, *Aghâni*, vol. x, p. 144.
7. The text here is probably corrupt; *cf.* Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. iv, pp. 25 and 132; Yûsuf, p. 41.
8. Sent to bring the *kharâj*.
9. Ar. *ḥâshiyah* = Jews. Sprenger, vol. Hi, p. 502.
10. *amthilah* crosses and pictures used in churches.
11. Ya'ķûbi, vol. ii, p. 62, has "after this year".
12. Caetani, vol. ii, p. 352; Sprenger, vol. iii, p. 502; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 223.
13. 'Abdallâh ibn-abi-Bakr; abu-Yûsuf, p. 4; see H. Lammens' comment on this protocol, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, vol. v², p. 346.
14. And not "abi" as required by the rules of the Arabic grammar.
15. Lammens, *MFO*, vol. v², p. 677.
16. *dihķâns*; Âdam, pp. 42–43.
17. Âdam, p. 9.
18. Kor., 2: 189.
19. Kor., 9 : 29.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 15

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CHAPTER XV

AL-YAMAN

The people of al-Yaman embrace Islâm. When the news of the rise of the Prophet and the success of his righteous cause reached the people of al-Yaman, they sent their envoys, and the Prophet gave them a written statement confirming them in the possession of whatever property, lands, and buried treasures were included in their terms when they became Moslems. Thus they accepted Islâm; and the Prophet sent them his messengers and *ʿâmil*s to acquaint them with the laws of Islâm and its institutes and to receive their *ṣadaqah* and the poll-tax of those among them who still held to Christianity, Judaism or Magianism.

The Prophet's letter. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from al-Ḥasan:—The Prophet wrote to the people of al-Yaman, "Whosoever repeats our prayer, turns his face to the *qiblah* as we do,^[1] and eat what we slaughter, such a one is a Moslem and has the security of Allah and the security of his Prophet. But whosoever refuses to do so, tax is binding upon him."

A similar tradition was communicated to me by Hudbah on the authority of al-Ḥasan.

The governor of Ṣanʿâ. It is reported by al-Wâkidi that the Prophet sent Khâlid ibn-Saʿîd ibn-al-ʿÂsi as a commander over Ṣanʿâ and its land. Al-Wâkidi adds that some say that the Prophet assigned al-Muhâjir ibn-abi-Umaiyyah ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmi to be governor of Ṣanʿâ, in which position he died. Still others say, according to al-Wâkidi, that the one who made al-Muhâjir governor over Ṣanʿâ was abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq, who also assigned Khâlid ibn-Saʿîd over the provinces of upper al-Yaman.

Al-Muhâjir as governor of Kindah and aṣ-Ṣadîf. According to Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi and Haitham ibn-ʿAdi the Prophet assigned al-Muhâjir over Kindah and aṣ-Ṣadîf. On the death of the Prophet, abu-Bakr wrote to Ziyâd ibn-Labîd al-Bayʿâdî-l-Anṣârî assigning to him the governorship of Kindah, aṣ-Ṣadîf and other places in addition to what he already ruled over in Ḥaḍramaut. Al-Muhâjir he assigned over Ṣanʿâ and later asked him in writing to reinforce Ziyâd ibn-Labîd, without dismissing him from the governorship of Ṣanʿâ.

Ziyâd, governor of Ḥaḍramaut. It is agreed by all that the Prophet assigned Ziyâd ibn-Labîd to Ḥaḍramaut.

The governors of Zabîd, Rima', 'Adan, al-Janad and Najrân appointed. The Prophet assigned abu-Mûsa-l-Ash'ari to Zabîd, Rima', 'Adan and the coast region, and assigned Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal to al-Janad, made him *kâdî* and charged him with collecting *ṣadaqah* in al-Yaman. He then assigned to Najrân 'Amr ibn-Ḥazm al-Anṣârî; and, according to other reports, he assigned abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb to Najrân after 'Amr ibn-Ḥazm.

The letter of the Prophet to Zur'ah sent with Mu'âdh. 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṣaliḥ al-Mukri' from 'Urwah ibn-az-Zubair:—The Prophet wrote to Zur'ah ibn-dhi-Yazan as follows:

"Greetings! On the arrival of my messenger Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal and his companions, gather all your *ṣadaqah* and poll-tax and deliver them to him. Mu'âdh is the chief of my messengers, and one of the righteous among my immediate companions. I have been informed by Mâlik ibn-Murârah^[2] ar-Rahâwî that thou wert the first to desert Ḥimyar and embrace Islâm. Therefore, good times lie before thee. And I order you, all Ḥimyar,^[3] not to exhibit perfidy or deviation, for verily is the Prophet of Allah the lord of both the rich and the poor among you. As for the *ṣadaqah*, it is not legal for Muḥammad or any of his relatives to take; it is rather *zakât* through which ye are purified, and which goes to the poor among the Moslems and the Believers. It was Mâlik that conveyed the information and kept the secret. As for Mu'âdh, he is one of the righteous among my immediate companions and one of their coreligionists. I, therefore, order you to treat him well, for he is highly esteemed. And peace be unto you!"^[4]

The Prophet orders Mu'âdh to take the tithe. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Mûsa ibn-Ṭalḥah:—The Prophet sent Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal^[5] to collect the *ṣadaqah* of al-Yaman ordering him to take on dates, wheat, barley and grapes (perhaps he said raisins) one-tenth and one-half of a tenth.

Instructions to 'Amr ibn-Ḥazm. Al-Ḥusain from Muḥammad ibn-Ishâk:—The Prophet wrote the following to 'Amr ibn-Ḥazm when he sent him to al-Yaman:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is a declaration from Allah and his Prophet. All ye that have believed! be faithful to your compacts:^[6] this is an ordinance from the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to 'Amr ibn-Ḥazm when he delegated him to al-Yaman. He ordered him to fear Allah in whatever he performs, and to take from the spoils the fifth that belongs to Allah as well as what is prescribed as *ṣadaqah* on the property of the Believers which is one-tenth in case it is watered by flowing water or rain, and one-half of a tenth if it is watered by means of the bucket."^[7]

The Prophet's letter to the kings of Ḥimyar. Al-Ḥusain from Muḥammad ibn-Ishâk:—The following is what the Prophet wrote to the kings of Ḥimyar:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. From the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to al-Ḥârith ibn-'Abd-Kulâl, Nu'aim ibn-'Abd-Kulâl, and Sharḥ ibn-'Abd-Kulâl, to an-Nu'mân Kail dhi-Ru'ain, Ma'âfir and Hamdân. Greetings! Allah will guide you by his own guidance, if ye act well, obey Allah and his Prophet, observe the prayer, pay the *zakât*, give out of the spoils the fifth that belongs to Allah, the share of his Prophet, and the portion which belongs to him as chief exclusive of his companions, and deliver what is prescribed by Allah to the Believers in the form of *ṣadaqah* on the property, which is one-tenth, in case the land is watered by spring, or rain water, and half of the tenth if watered by means of the bucket."^[8]

According to Hishâm ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi the letter of the Prophet was addressed to 'Arib and al-Ḥārith, the sons of 'Abd-Kulâl ibn-'Arib ibn-Liyashrah.^[9]

The Prophet's letter to Mu'âdh. Yûsuf ibn-Mûsa-l-Ḳaṭṭân from al-Ḥakam:—The Prophet wrote to Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal, when the latter was in al-Yaman, stating that one-tenth is to be assessed on what is watered by rain or flowing water, and half of a tenth on what is watered by means of the bucket and water-wheel; that on every adult one *dînâr* or its equivalent in clothes is to be assessed; and that no Jew is to be enticed to leave Judaism.^[10]

The instructions given to Mu'âdh. Abu-'Ubaid from Masrûk:—The Prophet delegated Mu'âdh to al-Yaman giving him orders to take a one-year-old cow out of every thirty cows; one full-grown cow, of every forty; and one *dînâr*, or its equivalent in clothes, from every adult.

The Magians taxed. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from al-Ḥasan:—The Prophet collected poll-tax from the Magians of Hajar and the Magians of al-Yaman, and assessed one *dînâr* or its equivalent in clothes on every adult or female from the Magians of al-Yaman.

The people of al-Yaman taxed. 'Amr an-Nâkid from 'Amr ibn-Shu'aib's grandfather:—The Prophet assessed one *dînâr* as tax on every adult among the people of al-Yaman.

Shaibân ibn-abi-Shaibah-l-Ubulli from Yahya ibn-Ṣaifi or from ibn-'Abbâs:—When the Prophet delegated Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal to al-Yaman he said, "When thou comest to any of the 'People of the Book,' tell them, 'Allah made it obligatory on you to pray five times per day and night '. If they obey, tell them, 'Allah made it obligatory on you to fast during the month of Ramaḍân of every year'. If they obey, tell them, 'Allah made it obligatory on him of you who can afford it to undertake a pilgrimage to Makkah'. If they obey, tell them, 'Allah has made it obligatory on you to offer *ṣadaqah* on your possessions to be taken from the rich among you and turned over to the poor among you.' If they obey, then avoid their choice possessions and beware of the imprecation of the oppressed, for between his imprecation and Allah there is no veil or screen."^[11]

Products subject to ṣadaqah. Shaibân from al-Mughîrah ibn-'Abdallâh:—Al-Ḥajjâj said, "Give *ṣadaqah* on every leguminous plant." Regarding this abu-Burdah ibn-abi-Mûsa said, "He is right", which made Mûsa ibn-Ṭalhah say to abu-Burdah, "This man [al-Ḥajjâj?] now claims that his father was among the Prophet's *Companions*. The Prophet sent Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal to al-Yaman and gave him instructions to collect *ṣadaqah* on dates, wheat, barley and raisins."

'Amr an-Nâkid from Mûsa ibn-Ṭalhah ibn-'Ubaidallâh who said:—"I have read the letter of Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal when the Prophet sent him to al-Yaman, and there occurred in it the following statement, "Take *ṣadaqah* on wheat, barley, dates and corn."

Why more tax on the Syrians. 'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh al-Madîni from ibn-abi-Najîh who said, "I once asked Mujâhid, 'Why did 'Umar levy on the people of Syria a heavier poll-tax than on the people of al-Yaman?' and he replied, 'Because they were people of means.'"

Nothing on al-awḳâṣ. Al-Ḥusain ibn-ʿAli ibn-al-Aswad from Ṭâʿûs:—When Muʿâdh arrived in al-Yaman, there was brought before him a medial number of cows and a medial amount^[12] of honey, on which he said, "I have no instructions to take anything on this."

The salt of Maʿrib. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Abyaḍ ibn-Ḥammâl:—The latter asked the Prophet to give him as fief the salt in Maʿrib but hearing someone say, "It is like perennial water,"^[13] the Prophet refused to assign it.

A tradition to the same effect was communicated to me by al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm and others on the authority of Abyaḍ ibn-Ḥammâl.

The Prophet gives a fief in Ḥaḍramaut. According to a tradition communicated to me by Aḥmad ibn-Ibrâhîm ad-Daurakî on the authority of ʿAlḳamah ibn-Wâʿil al-Ḥaḍramî's father, the Prophet gave out as fief to the latter [ʿAlḳamah's father] a piece of land in Ḥaḍramaut.

Muḥammad ibn-Yûsuf severe on al-Yaman. ʿAli ibn-Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-abi-Saif, a freedman of Ḳuraish, from Maslamah ibn-Muḥârib:—When Muḥammad ibn-Yûsuf, the brother of al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf, was the governor of al-Yaman, he misbehaved, oppressed the people and took pieces of land from certain men without paying their prices. Among the lands he thus wrested was al-Ḥarajah. Moreover he levied on the people of al-Yaman a *kharâj* which he gave the form of an assessed rate of land-tax. When ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz came to power, he wrote to his *ʿamil* instructing him to abolish that assessed land-tax and take nothing more than the tithe saying, "Though I may not get from al-Yaman more than a handful of *katam*,^[14] I would rather have that than the passing of such a tax." However, when Yazîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik came to power he reinstated it.

Ṣadaḳah on plants, grains and vegetables. Al-Ḥusain ibn-Muḥammad az-Zaʿfarâni from abu-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân Hishâm ibn-Yûsuf, the *ḳâḍî* of Ṣanʿâ:—The people of Khufâsh presented a statement from abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq on a parchment ordering them to pay *ṣadaḳah* on a piece of land planted with *wars*.^[15]

According to Mâlik, ibn-abi-Dhiʿb, all the canonists of al-Ḥijâz, Sufyân ath-Thaurî and abu-Yûsuf there is no *zakât* on *wars*, *wasmah*,^[16] *ḳirt*,^[17] *katam*, *ḥinna*^[18] and roses.

Abu-Ḥanîfah, however, holds that there is *zakât* on these, whether in large or small quantities. Mâlik holds that the *zakât* on saffron is five *dirhams*, if its price amounts to 200 *dirhams* and if it is sold. The same is the view of abu-az-Zinâd who is reported by others to have said, "Nothing on saffron." According to abu-Ḥanîfah and Zufar there is *zakât* on it whether it is in large or small quantities. Abu-Yûsuf and Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan claim, "If its price amounts to the lowest price for which five *wasḳs* of dates, wheat, barley, corn or any other kind of grains sell, then there is *ṣadaḳah* on it." According to ibn-abi-Laila, there is nothing on vegetables. The same view is held by ash-Shaʿbi.^[19] According to ʿAtâʾ and Ibrâhîm an-Nakhaʿî, whatever the tithe-land produces, be it in great or small quantities, is subject to the tithe or half the tithe.

Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from ibn-abi-Rajâʾ al-Uṭâridî who said:—"In al-Baṣrah, ibn-al-ʿAbbâs used to collect our *ṣadaḳahs* even from the bundles of leek."

Al-Ḥusain from Ṭâ'ûs and 'Ikrimah:—The latter asserted that there is no *zakât* on *wars* and cotton.

The tax on the dhimmis. The following is the view of abu-Ḥanîfah and Bishr:—In case of the *dhimmis* who are in possession of lands included in the tithe-land, like for instance al-Yaman whose people accepted Islâm and made terms on their lands, al-Baṣrah which was cultivated by the Moslems, and other lands given out as fiefs by the caliphs to which no Moslem or "man of the covenant" has claim, it is binding on these people to pay tax on their person and *kharâj* on their lands according to what their lands can bear. Whatever is received from them follows the course of the money received as *kharâj*. If, however, any one of them becomes Moslem, he is exempt from the poll-tax but remains always subject to the *kharâj* on his land, as it is the case in as-Sawâd. The same view is held by ibn-abi-Laila. According to ibn-Shubrumah and abu-Yûsuf, tax is levied on their heads, and they should pay double what the Moslems pay on their lands, which would be a fifth or a tenth. This they said on the analogy of the case of the Christian banu-Taghlib. Abu-Yûsuf added that whatever is taken from them should follow the course of the money received as *kharâj*. In case a *dhimmi* becomes Moslem or his land goes to a Moslem, then it becomes tithe-land. The same view is reported to have been held by 'Atâ' and al-Ḥasan.

According to ibn-abi-Dhi'b, ibn-abi-Sabrah, Sharîk ibn-'Abdallâh an-Nakha'i, and ash-Shâfi'i, there is tax on their heads, but no *kharâj* or tithe on their land, because they are not included in those on whom *zakât* is binding, nor is their land a *kharâj*-land. The same opinion is held by al-Ḥasan ibn-Ṣâlih ibn-Ḥai-l-Mamdâni.

According to Sufyân ath-Thauri and Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan, there is tithe on them but not in a doubled form, because that which counts is the land, and the possessor is not to be taken into consideration. According to al-Auzâ'i and Sharîk ibn-'Abdallâh, if they are *dhimmis* like the Jews of al-Yaman, whose people became Moslem while they were still in the land, then nothing is taken but the poll-tax, and you should not let the *dhimmi* buy the tithe-land or possess it.

The case of a Jew who holds tithe-land. Al-Wâkidi said, "I once asked Mâlik about the case of a Jew from al-Ḥijâz who buys land in al-Jurf and plants it. Mâlik said, 'The tithe is taken from him'. I then replied, 'Didst thou not claim that there is no tithe on the land of a *dhimmi* if he acquires it from the tithe-land?' 'That', said Mâlik, 'holds true, if he stays in his own country; but in case he leaves his country, then that becomes a question of trade.'"^[20]

A man of the banu-Taghlib who uses a tithe-land. Abu-az-Zinad, Mâlik ibn-Anas, ibn-abi-Dhi'b, ath-Thauri, abu-Ḥanîfah and Ya'kûb said regarding the case of one of the banu-Taghlib who plants a piece of the tithe-land that he should pay a double-tithe. If he rents a tithe-farm then—according to Mâlik, ath-Thauri, ibn-abi-Dhi'b and Ya'kûb—the one who plants the farms should pay the tithe. Abu-Ḥanîfah, however, maintains that the owner of the land should pay it; and Zufar shares the same view.

The case of one who is behind in payment of the tithe. According to abu-Ḥanîfah, in case a man fails to pay the tithe for two years, then the authorities [Ar. *sulṭân*] take only one tithe as he begins again to pay. The same is true of the *kharâj*-land. But abu-Shimr holds that the authorities take the arrears, because it is justly due to them.

Footnotes

1. Turning the face towards Makkah during prayer.
2. Hishâm, p. 956, gives "Murrah"; and Nawâwi, p. 539, "Marârah".
3. Hishâm, p. 957.
4. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1719.
5. Bukhâri, vol. iii, p. 156; Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 158.
6. Kor., 5: 1.
7. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1727.
8. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1718.
9. Ibn-Duraid, *al-Ishtikāk*, p. 308: "*Yalyashrah*"; see *ZDMG*, vol. xx, p. 237.
10. Here is omitted the explanation of certain words in the tradition.
11. Bukhâri, vol. iii, p. 157.
12. Ar. *awḳâṣ* = what is between one *farīḍah* and the next; as, for instance when camels amount in number to five, one sheep or goat is to be given for them; and nothing is to be given for such as exceed that number until they amount to ten; thus what is between the five and ten is termed *wakṣ*, pl. *awḳâṣ*.
13. Having an unfailing and continuous output.
14. A plant product used for dyeing the hair black.
15. A certain plant like sesame existing in al-Yaman only, used for dyeing.
16. A plant with the leaves of which one tinges or dyes.
17. A kind of leek.
18. A plant used for dyeing the hands and feet.
19. Yaḥya ibn-Âdam, p. 107.
20. Cf. abu-Yûsuf, p. 69.

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CHAPTER XVI

‘UMÂN

The Prophet sends abu-Zaid al-Anṣārī to ‘Umân. The al-Azd were in ascendancy in ‘Umân,^[1] although it had in its deserts^[2] a many other peoples. In the early part of the year 8, the Prophet delegated to them abu-Zaid al-Anṣārī of al-Khazraj, who was one of those who compiled the Koran in the time of the Prophet. His [full] name, according to al-Kalbi, was ẖais ibn-Sakan ibn-Zaid^[3] ibn-Ḥarām; according to some Baṣrah philologists, his name was ‘Amr ibn-Akhṭab, the grandfather of ‘Urwah ibn-Thâbit ibn-‘Amr ibn-Akhṭab; and according to Sa‘īd ibn-Aus al-Anṣārī, it was Thâbit ibn-Zaid. The Prophet also sent ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Āṣi as-Sahmi with a letter to ‘Abd^[4] and Jaifar, the two sons of al-Julanda, calling them to Islām.^[5] The Prophet said, "If these people accept the witness of truth and pledge obedience to Allah and his Prophet, ‘Amr will be the commander and abu-Zaid will officiate in prayer, propagate Islām, and teach the Koran and the institutes of the Prophet."

On the arrival of abu-Zaid and ‘Amr at ‘Umân, they found that ‘Abd and Jaifar were at Ṣuḥâr on the sea-coast. They carried the letter of the Prophet to them, and they both accepted Islām and invited the Arabs to it. The Arabs then responded and showed special interest in it. ‘Amr and abu-Zaid stayed in ‘Umân until the death of the Prophet. It is said by some, however, that abu-Zaid returned to al-Madīnah before that.

Al-Azd and other tribes apostatize. Consequent upon the death of the Prophet, al-Azd apostatized from Islām under the leadership of Laḳîṭ ibn-Mâlik dhu-at-Tâj and left for Dabba^[6] (some say for Damma in Dabba), Abu-Bakr, thereupon, dispatched against them Ḥudhaifah ibn-Miḥṣan al-Makhzûmi, who in a battle with Laḳîṭ and his companions killed him and took from the people of Dabba many captives whom they sent to abu-Bakr. At this, al-Azd returned to Islām. Other clans from ‘Umân, however, apostatized and went as far as ash-Shihr. These ‘Ikrimah followed and overpowered, carrying away a large booty and killing many of their number. Then some of the tribe of Mahrah ibn-Ḥaidân ibn-‘Amr ibn al-Ḥâfi ibn-Ḳudâ‘ah massed a body of men, against whom ‘Ikrimah came; but they offered no resistance and paid *ṣadaqah*.

Hudhaifah made governor. Abu-Bakr assigned Ḥudhaifah ibn-Miḥṣan as governor over ‘Umân. When abu-Bakr died, Ḥudhaifah was still over it; but he was later dismissed and sent to al-Yaman.

Īsa ibn-Ja'far abuses the people. The state of 'Umân continued in a fair way, its people paying *ṣadaqah* on their property, and poll-tax being taken from those among them who were *dhimmi*s until the caliphate of ar-Rashîd who made Īsa ibn-Ja'far ibn-Sulaimân ibn-'Alī ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-'Abbâs its ruler. The latter left for 'Umân with some troops from al-Baṣrah, who began to violate women, and rob the people, and make public use of musical instruments.^[7] The people of 'Umân, who were mostly Shurât,^[8] having learned that, fought against him and held him back from entering the city. Finally, they succeeded in killing and crucifying him. Then they broke with the caliph^[9] and refused to do him homage, making one of their own their ruler.

Some assert that the Prophet sent abu-Zaid carrying his letter to 'Abd and Jaifar, the two sons of al-Julanda of al-Azd, in the year 6, and sent 'Amr in the year 8, a short time after his conversion to Islâm, which took place, together with the conversion of Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd and 'Uthmân ibn-Ṭalhah-l-'Abdī in Ṣafar, year 8. 'Amr had come from Abyssinia to the Prophet.^[10] The Prophet said to abu-Zaid, "From the Moslems, take *ṣadaqah*; but from the Magians, take poll-tax."

The letter of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz to 'Adī. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini from al-Mubârak ibn-Fuḍâlah:—The following is what 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz wrote to 'Adī ibn-Arṭât al-Fazâri, his *âmil* in al-Baṣrah:

"Greetings! I have previously written to 'Amr ibn-'Abdallâh asking him to distribute whatever he received in 'Umân as date or grain tithes among the poor of its inhabitants, the nomadic people who may descend on it and those whom need, poverty, or obstruction of the way may compel to stay in it. Regarding this, he wrote to me that having asked thy representative who came before him to 'Umân about those articles of food and dates, he was told that thy representative had sold them and delivered the price to thee. Return to 'Amr, therefore, what thy representative in 'Umân had carried to thee as the price of dates and grains, that 'Amr may invest it where I instructed him, and spend it as I told him. May this be the will of Allah, and peace be unto thee!"

Footnotes

1. 1 Yâkût, vol. iii, p. 717.
2. 2 Ar. *bâdiyah*; see *MFO*, vol. iv, p. 98.
3. Hishâm, p. 504, gives "Ḳais ibn-Za'ûra " for Zaid.
4. Hishâm, p. 971: "'Iyâdh"; adh-Dhahabi, *al-Mushtabih*, p. 133: "'Abbâd"; cf. Athîr, vol. ii, p. 177.
5. Ya'ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 85; Sprenger, vol. iii, p. 382.
6. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1981: "Daba".
7. Cf. Salil ibn-Râziḳ, *History of Imâms and Seyyids of Oman*, tr. Badger, p. 11.
8. Schismatics commonly known as *Khawârij*. They say that they owe their name to Koran, 2: 203.
9. The word used is *sulṭân*.
10. Hishâm, pp. 716–717.

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CHAPTER XVII

AL-BAḤRAIN

Al-Mundhir ibn-Sâwa, governor of al-Baḥrain. The land of al-Baḥrain formed a part of the Persian kingdom. In its desert lived a great many Arabs from the tribes of ‘Abd-al-Ḳais, Bakr ibn-Wâ’il and Tamîm. At the time of the Prophet, the one who ruled the Arabs in it in the name of the Persians was al-Mundhir ibn-Sâwa^[1] one of the sons of ‘Abdallâh ibn-Zaid ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-Dârim ibn-Mâlik ibn-Ḥanzalah. This ‘Abdallâh ibn-Zaid was surnamed al-Asbadhi after a village in Hajar called al-Asbadh. Others claim that he was named after the al-Asbadhi people, who were worshippers of horses in al-Baḥrain.

Al-‘Alâ’ delegated by the Prophet. At the beginning of the year 8, the Prophet delegated al-‘Alâ’ ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Imâd al-Ḥaḍrami, an ally of the banu-‘Abd-Shams, to al-Baḥrain, giving its people the choice between following Islâm or paying tax. With him, the Prophet sent a letter to al-Mundhir ibn-Sâwa and Sibukht the satrap^[2] of Hajar,^[3] giving them the choice between following Islâm or paying tax. They both were converted and, together with them, all the Arabs living there and a few Persians. The rest of the population, however, including Magians, Jews and Christians made terms with al-‘Alâ’ and this is a copy of the statement written between the two parties:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. These are the terms agreed upon between al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami and the people of al-Baḥrain. It is agreed that they will save us [the Moslems] the trouble of work, and divide with us the dates; and whosoever of them fails to keep this may the curse of Allah, the angels, and the world altogether be upon him." As for the poll-tax, al-‘Alâ’ assessed one *dînâr* on every adult.

The letter of the Prophet. ‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from ibn-‘Abbâs:—This is what the Prophet wrote to the people of al-Baḥrain:

"Greetings! If ye observe prayer, give *zakât*, remain loyal to Allah and his Prophet, pay the tithe of the dates and half the tithe of the grains, and do not bring up your children as Magians, then ye will be treated according to the terms agreed upon when ye became Moslem, with the exception of the fire-temple that is to be delivered to Allah and his Prophet. If, however, ye refuse, then tax will be incumbent on you."

The Magians and Jews prefer tax. The Magians and Jews, however, refused Islâm and preferred the payment of poll-tax. Upon this, the hypocrites among the Arabs remarked, "The Prophet pretended that he would accept poll-tax from none outside the 'People of the Book', but, here he is accepting it from the Magians of Hajar who are not 'People of the Book.'" On this occasion the text was revealed—"O ye that have believed! take heed to yourselves. He who erreth shall not hurt you when ye have the guidance."^[4] According to certain reports, the Prophet sent al-‘Alâ’ at the time he sent his envoys to the kings in the year 6.^[5]

Al-‘Alâ’ as a wall between them. Muḥammad ibn-Muṣaffa al-Ḥimṣi from al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami who said: "The Prophet sent me to al-Baḥrain (or perhaps he said 'Hajar') and I used to come as a wall between brothers [i. e. try to create discord] some of whom have been converted. From the Moslem among them, I would take the tithe, and from the 'polytheist,' *kharâj*."^[6]

The Prophet's letter. Al-Ḳasim ibn-Sallâm from ‘Urwah ibn-az-Zubair:—The Prophet wrote to the people of Hajar as follows:—^[7]

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. From Muḥammad the Prophet to the people of Hajar: ye are in peace. I praise Allah on your behalf, beside whom there is no god. Then I admonish you by Allah and by yourselves that ye do not go astray after having been guided, nor be misled after having the right pointed out to you. What ye have done has reached me, and now the offense of the guilty shall not be charged to him among you who behaves himself. When my commanders come to you obey them, reinforce them and help them in carrying out Allah's plan and his cause, for whosoever among you does the good deed, his deed shall not be lost before Allah or before me. Your delegation has come to me, and I did nothing for them but what was pleasing to them; although if I were to enforce all my right on you, I would expel you from Hajar. Thus did I accept intercession for the absent among you, and bestow favor on the present. Remember the grace of Allah upon you."

The tax imposed on al-Baḥrain. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Ḳatâdah:—In the time of the Prophet, no fight took place in al-Baḥrain, for some of the people accepted Islâm, and others made terms with al-‘Alâ’, agreeing to give half the grains and dates.

Al-Ḥusain from az-Zuhri:—The Prophet took poll-tax from the Magians of Hajar.

What the Prophet wrote to the Magians. Al-Ḥusain from al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad:—The Prophet wrote to the Magians of Hajar, inviting them to Islâm and providing that if they are converted, they will have the rights we have, and be under the obligations we are under; but those who refuse Islâm will have to pay the tax, and we will not eat what they slaughter nor marry their women.

Al-Ḥusain from Sa‘îd ibn-al-Musaiyib:^[8]—The Prophet exacted tax from the Magians of Hajar, ‘Umar exacted it from those of Persia, and Uthmân from the Berbers.

A similar tradition was communicated by al-Ḥusain on the authority of az-Zuhri.

‘Amr an-Nâḳid from Mûsa ibn-‘Uḳbah:—The Prophet wrote to Mundhir ibn-Sâwa as follows:—

"From Muḥammad the Prophet to Mundhir ibn-Sâwa:—thou art at peace. I praise Allah in thy behalf, beside whom there is no god. Thy letter I received, and its contents I heard. Whosoever repeats our prayer, faces the *qiblah* as we do [in prayer] and eats what we slaughter, such one is a Moslem; but whosoever refuses will have to pay tax."

‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from ibn-‘Abbâs:—The Prophet having written to al-Mundhir ibn-Sâwa, the latter accepted Islâm and called the people of Hajar to it, some of whom accepted and others did not. As for the Arabs, they became Moslems, but the Magians and Jews accepted the tax and it was exacted from them.

Al-‘Alâ’ sends 80,000 dirhams. Shaibân ibn-Farrûkh from Ḥumaid ibn-Hilâl:—Al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami sent from al-Baḥrain to the Prophet a sum of money amounting to 80,000 [*dirhams*], more than which sum the Prophet never received either before or after. The Prophet gave a part of it to his uncle al-‘Abbâs.

Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr from ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz ibn-‘Ubaidallâh:—The Prophet communicated with those in Hajar whom Kisra had settled there as hostages [*waḍâ’i*], but they refused Islâm and tax was laid on them, one *dînâr* on every man.

Abân ibn-Sa’îd made governor and succeeded by abu-Hurairah. The Prophet dismissed al-‘Alâ’ and assigned to al-Baḥrain Abân ibn-Sa’îd ibn-al-‘Âṣi ibn-Umaiyyah. According to other reports, al-‘Alâ’ was assigned to one district of al-Baḥrain, a part of which was al-Ḳaṭîf, and Abân to another in which lay al-Khaṭṭ. The former report, however, is the more authentic. On the death of the Prophet, Abân left al-Baḥrain and came to al-Maḍînah. The people of al-Baḥrain, thereupon, asked abu-Bakr to send al-‘Alâ’ back to them. This he did. Thus, according to this report, al-‘Alâ’ held the governorship of al-Baḥrain until he died in the year 20. Then ‘Umar assigned to his place abu-Hurairah ad-Dausi. Others say that ‘Umar assigned abu-Hurairah before the death of al-‘Alâ’, who, thereupon, left for Tauwaj in Persia, intending to settle in it. Later, however, he returned to al-Baḥrain where he died. Abu-Hurairah often repeated, "After we buried al-‘Alâ’, we wanted to lift a brick from the tomb. On lifting it we found al-‘Alâ’ missing from the coffin."

‘Uthmân ibn-abi-l-‘Âṣi made governor. Abu-Mikhnaf asserted that ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami, his *‘amil* in al-Baḥrain, calling him back, and assigned ‘Uthmân ibn-abi-l-‘Âṣi ath-Thakāfi to al-Baḥrain and ‘Umân. On the arrival of al-‘Alâ’ in al-Maḍînah, he was assigned by ‘Umar to the governorship of al-Baṣrah, in the place of ‘Utbah ibn-Ghazwân. No sooner had he arrived there, than he died. This took place in the year 14, or the beginning of 15. Then ‘Umar assigned Ḳudâmah ibn-Maz’ûn al-Jumāhi for the collection of taxes from al-Baḥrain, and gave abu-Hurairah authority over the military guard and charge of the conduct of prayer. Later he dismissed Ḳudâmah, inflicted on him the legal punishment for drinking wine,^[9] and gave abu-Hurairah authority over the military guard and charged him with the conduct of prayer. At last, he dismissed abu-Hurairah and confiscated a part of his wealth. Then he assigned Uthmân ibn-abi-l-‘Âṣi to al-Baḥrain and ‘Umân.

Abu-Hurairah made governor after Ḳudâmah. Al-‘Umarî^[10] from al-Haitham:—Ḳudâmah ibn-Maz’ûn had charge of tax-collecting and the military guard, and abu-Hurairah acted as leader of prayer and *ḳaḍî*. The latter gave witness against Ḳudâmah, and ‘Umar assigned him to al-Baḥrain after Ḳudâmah. Later ‘Umar dismissed him, confiscated a part of what he possessed and ordered him to return. This he refused to

do. 'Umar, thereupon, assigned 'Uthman ibn-abi-l-Âṣi as governor, who still held the office at the death of 'Umar. When 'Uthmân was in Persia, his substitute over 'Umân and al-Baḥrain was his brother, Mughîrah ibn-abi-l-Âṣi, others say Ḥaḥṣ ibn-abi-l-Âṣi.

Umar confiscates abu-Hurairah's wealth. Shaibân ibn-Farrûkh from abu-Hurairah who said:—"Umar made me his *'amil* over al-Baḥrain. There I gathered 12,000 [*dirhams*]. On my return to 'Umar, he addressed me saying: 'O thou the enemy of Allah and of the Moslems (he may have said 'and of his Book'), thou hast stolen the money of Allah!' To this I replied, 'Neither am I the enemy of Allah, nor of the Moslems, (he may have said 'nor of his Book'); rather am I the enemy of him who has enmity against them. The money, I have got from horses that multiplied in number and from different shares that mounted up.' 'Umar then took from me 12,000. In my morning prayer I repeated, 'Lord forgive 'Umar.' After this, 'Umar used to take from the people of al-Baḥrain and give them back more than what he would take. At last 'Umar asked me, 'Wouldst thou not act as *'âmil*, abu-Hurairah?' and I replied 'No,' to which he answered, 'And why not? Better men than thou were made *'amils*, for instance Joseph,^[11] who said, "Set me over the granaries of the land." To this I replied, 'Joseph was a prophet and the son of a prophet, whereas I am abu-Hurairah, son of Umainah, and I am afraid of three things and of two things that thou mayest bring upon me.' 'And why,' said 'Umar, 'didst thou not say five?' 'I fear that thou dost whip my back, defame my honor, and take my money; and I hate to speak without meekness and to rule without knowledge.'"

Al-Ḳasim ibn-Sallâm and Rauh ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min from abu-Hurairah:—When abu-Hurairah returned from al-Baḥrain, 'Umar said to him, "O thou enemy of Allah and enemy of his Book; hast thou stolen the money of Allah?" "Neither am I", replied abu-Hurairah, "the enemy of Allah, nor of his Book; rather am I the enemy of him who has enmity against them. I did not steal the money of Allah." "How then," said 'Umar, "did 10,000 *dirhams* come to thee?" "Through horses" said abu-Hurairah, "that reproduced and stipends that came in successions and shares that mounted up." 'Umar took the money from him. The rest of the tradition is similar to what is reported by abu-Hilâl.^[12]

The apostasy of al-Ḥuṭam. On the death of al-Mundhir ibn-Sâwa, a little after the death of the Prophet, those in al-Baḥrain descended from Ḳais ibn-Tha'labah ibn-'Ukabah apostatized under al-Ḥuṭam from Islâm. This al-Ḥuṭam was Shuraiḥ ibn-Ḍubai'ah ibn-'Amr ibn-Marṭhad, one of the sons of Ḳais ibn-Tha'labah. He was nicknamed Ḥuṭam for saying,

"The night found her in the company of a strong driver who does not drive gently [Ar. *ḥuṭam*]"^[13]

Together with these there apostatized from Islam in al-Baḥrain all the Rabî'ah tribe with the exception of al-Jârûd, i. e. Bishr ibn-'Amr al-'Abdî^[14] and those of his people who followed him. For a leader, they chose a son of an-Nu'mân ibn-al-Mundhir, named al-Mundhir. Al-Ḥuṭam followed the Rabî'ah and joined them with his men. Having received this information, al-'Alâ' ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami marched at the head of the Moslems until he came to Juwâtha, which was the fortification of al-Baḥrain. As Rabî'ah advanced towards him, he set out towards them with his Arabs and non-Arabs and led a

heavy fight against them. Then the Moslems took refuge in the fortification where they were besieged by the enemy. It was in reference to this occasion that 'Abdallâh ibn-Ḥadhaf al-Kilâbi said:

"Wilt thou carry this message
to abu-Bakr and all the youths of al-Madînah?
Hasten to the aid of some young men of your number,
who are invested as captives in Juwâtha."^[15]

At last al-'Alâ' made a sally with the Moslems and fell upon the Rabî'ah during the night. A fierce battle ensued in which al-Ḥuṭam was killed.

According to other authorities, al-Ḥuṭam came to the Rabî'ah as they were in Juwâtha, whose inhabitants had all forsaken Islam, and had chosen for leader al-Mundhir ibn-an-Nu'mân. Al-Ḥuṭam took up his abode with them. Al-'Alâ' pressed the siege until he reduced Juwâtha and dispersed the crowd, killing al-Ḥuṭam. Of the two reports, however, the former is more authentic. Describing the death of al-Ḥuṭam, Mâlik ibn-Tha'labah-l-'Abdi says:

"We left Shuraiḥ with the blood covering him
like the fringe of a spotted Yamanite garment.
It was we that deprived unum-Ghaḍbân of her son,
and broke our lance in Ḥabtar's eye.
It was we that left Misma' prostrate on the ground,
at the mercy of hyenas and eagles that will attack him."

Al-Mundhir ibn-an-Nu'mân. It is reported that al-Mundhir ibn-an-Nu'mân was nicknamed al-Gharûr, but when the Moslems won the victory he said, "I am not al-Gharûr^[16] [the deceitful] but al-Maghrûr [the deceived]." This al-Mundhir went with the remnant of Rabî'ah as far as al-Khaṭṭ, which al-'Alâ' moved against and conquered, killing al-Mundhir and those in his company. According to others, al-Mundhir escaped, entered al-Mushakkar and let in the water around him, making it impossible to be reached. Finally he made terms, agreeing to leave the city, which he did. He then joined Musailimah with whom he was killed. Some claim that al-Mundhir was killed in the battle of Juwâtha; others that he surrendered and then fled away but was pursued and put to death. Al-'Alâ' having written to abu-Bakr for reinforcement, the latter wrote to Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd ordering him to hasten from al-Yamâmah to the reinforcement of al-'Alâ'. Al-Ḥuṭam, however, was killed^[17] before the arrival of Khâlid. So Khâlid with al-'Alâ' laid siege to al-Khaṭṭ. Later, Khâlid received a letter from abu-Bakr ordering him to leave for al-'Irâq, to which he started from al-Baḥrain, in the year 12.

Al-Wâḳidi says, "According to our companions, Khâlid came first to al-Madînah, whence he started for al-'Irâq."

'Abdallâh ibn-Suhail suffers martyrdom. 'Abdallâh ibn-Suhail ibn-'Amr of the banu-Âmir ibn-Lu'ai, whose surname was abu-Suhail and whose mother was Fâkhitah daughter of 'Âmir ibn-Naufal ibn-'Abd-Manâf, suffered martyrdom at Juwâtha. This 'Abdallâh was one of those who came with the "infidels" to the battle of Badr, but then he joined the Moslem side and embraced Islâm. He took part with the Prophet in the battle of Badr. On the receipt of the news of his death, his father, Suhail ibn-'Amr, said, "I expect Allah's renumeration for his loss." On a pilgrimage to Makkah Suhail was met by abu-Bakr who consoled him, and Suhail replied, "I am informed that the Prophet said, 'A martyr can intercede for seventy of his relatives,' and it is my hope that my son will begin with no one before me." When 'Abdallâh suffered martyrdom, he was 38 years of age.

'Abdallâh ibn-'Abdallâh suffers martyrdom. Another martyr of the battle of Juwâtha was 'Abdallâh ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-Ubai. According to others than al-Wâkidi, his martyrdom took place during the battle of al-Yamâmah.

Al-'Alâ' reduces az-Zârah, as-Sâbûn and Dârîn. Al-Muka'bar al-Fârisi,^[18] who was the friend of Kisra and was once sent by him to annihilate the banu-Tamîm for interfering with his camels (and whose full name was Fairûz ibn-Jushaish^[19]), fortified himself in az-Zârah. There, many Magians who had assembled in al-Ḳaṭîf^[20] and had refused to pay tax joined him. Al-'Alâ' invested az-Zârah but failed to reduce it in the caliphate of abu-Bakr. In the early part of the caliphate of 'Umar, however, he reduced it. In the course of the caliphate of 'Umar, al-'Alâ' conquered by force as-Sâbûn^[21] and Dârîn where there is [today] a spot known as Khandak al-'Alâ' [the trench of al-'Alâ'].

According to Ma'mar ibn-al-Muthanna, al-'Alâ' with 'Abd-al-Ḳais invaded, in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, certain villages in as-Sâbûn and reduced them. He then invaded the city of al-Ghâbah and killed those in it who were Persians. Thence he moved to az-Zârah in which al-Muka'bar stayed, and besieged him. The satrap of az-Zârah challenged him to a duel, and Barâ' ibn-Mâlik accepted the challenge and killed him, taking spoils from him which amounted to 40,000 [*dirhams*]. Under safe conduct, one of the people of az-Zârah came forth to point out the drinking water, and showed al-'Alâ' the spring that issues from az-Zârah. This spring al-'Alâ' filled up. The people seeing that, came to terms, agreeing to offer him one-third of the city and one-third of the gold and silver in it, together with one-half of what they owned outside the city. Then came al-Akhnas al-Âmiri to al-'Alâ' and said, "They have not made terms regarding their children who are now in Dârîn." Karrâz an-Nukri pointed out to al-'Alâ' the ford by which he could cross over to them. Thus did al-'Alâ' with a band of Moslems plunge into the sea; and the first thing the people of Darin knew of was the exclamation, "Allah is great!" The people of Dârîn sallied forth and attacked them from three sides, but the Moslems killed their fighters and gained possession of the children and captives. Seeing that, al-Muka'bar became Moslem. On this occasion Karrâz said:

" Al-'Alâ' feared the basin of the sea as he plunged into it, but I have of old crossed it over to the 'unbelievers' of Dârîn."

Khalaf al-Bazzâr and ‘Affân from Muḥammad ibn-Sîrîn:—In the duel between Barâ’ ibn-Mâlik and the satrap of az-Zârah, the former stabbed the latter above his spine, and he fell dead. Then Barâ’ went down and cut off his hands and took his bracelets, a furred coat he had on, and a belt. This booty, being so large, ‘Umar took one-fifth of it. It was the first booty in Islâm of which the fifth was taken.

Footnotes

1. Ḥajar, vol. iii, p. 943.
2. *marzubân*; Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. i, p. 213, in quoting al-Balâdhuri gives his name thus: "Usaikhit (Usaikhib)"; cf. Ibn-Sa‘d in Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vol. iv, p. 15; Yâkût, vol. i, p. 508.
3. Another name for Baḥrain, hence the Greek: Gerrha; Caetani, vol. ii, p. 194.
4. Kor., 5: 104.
5. Ya‘kûbi, vol. ii, p. 84.
6. Yâkût, vol. i, p. 509; Ḥajar, vol. iii, p. 943; Caetani, vol. iii, p. 202.
7. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vol. iv, pp. 15–16.
8. Duraïd, p. 62: "Musaiyab".
9. Flogging with 80 stripes; see *Muwaṭṭa*, p. 357.
10. *i. e.*, abu-‘Umar Ḥafṣ ibn-‘Umar ad-Dûri.
11. Kor., 12: 55.
12. One of the intermediate authorities of the preceding tradition whose final authority is abu-Hurairah himself.
13. Ṭabrizi, *Ḥamasah*, vol. i, p. 173.
14. Hishâm, p. 944; Duraïd, pp. 186 and 197.
15. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1962.
16. Hishâm, p. 945; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1970; Ḥajar, vol. iii, p. 385; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 281.
17. *Aghâni*, vol. xiv, p. 48.
18. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 259 seq.
19. Perhaps Jushnas, see *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 33. note 2; Nöldeke, *Perser*, p. no, note 3; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 256.
20. Yâkût, vol. iv, p. 143.
21. Yâkût gives "as-Sâbûr".

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 18

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CHAPTER XVIII

AL-YAMÂMAH

The origin of the name. Al-Yamâmah was first called Jau but was later named after a woman, al-Yamâmah, daughter of Murr [from the tribe] of Jadî, who was crucified at its gate. Allah knows whether this is true.

The envoys to the Prophet. When the Prophet wrote to the kings of the world in the year 7 (or 6 as it is said), he wrote to Haudhah ibn-ʿAli-l-Ḥanafî and the people of al-Yamâmah summoning them to Islâm. His letter to this effect he forwarded with Salîṭ ibn-Ḳais ibn-ʿAmr al-Anṣârî^[1] (later al-Khazraji). The people of al-Yamâmah, thereupon, sent to the Prophet their delegation, one of whom was Muġġâʿah ibn-Murârah. To Muġġâʿah and in accordance with his request, the Prophet gave out as fief a piece of unutilized land. Another delegate was ar-Rajġâl^[2] ibn-ʿUnfuwah who became Moslem and read the "*Sûrah* of the Cow" and other *Sûrahs* of the Koran. He, however, apostatized from Islâm after a time. Among the delegates was one, Musailimah, the false Prophet,^[3] Thumâmah ibn-Kabîr ibn-Ḥabîb,^[4] who said to the Prophet, "If it be thy will, we will leave all authority in thy hand and swear allegiance to thee, with the understanding that after thee, all will return to us [Musailimah]." "No," said the Prophet, "by no means, and may Allah smite thee!" Previous to this, Haudhah ibn-ʿAli-l-Ḥanafî had written to the Prophet asking that after the Prophet, the authority might be delegated to himself, and promising to become Moslem and come to the reinforcement of the Prophet. "No; nor anything else," answered the Prophet, "and may Allah let me get rid of him!" Before long Haudhah was dead.

Musailimah, the false Prophet. When the delegation of the banu-Ḥanîfah returned to al-Yamâmah, Musailimah, the false Prophet,^[5] asserted his claim as a prophet, and ar-Rajġâl ibn-ʿUnfuwah testified that the Prophet gave him [Musailimah] a share in the authority with him.^[6] Banu-Ḥanîfah and others in al-Yamâmah followed him. He then wrote the following message to the Prophet and forwarded it through ʿUbâdah ibn-al-Ḥârith of the banu-ʿÂmir ibn-Ḥanîfah, whose surname was ibn-an-Nauwâḥah,^[7] and who was [later] killed in al-Kûfah by ʿAbdallâh ibn-Masʿûd who heard that he and his companions believed in the false claims of Musailimah:

"From Musailimah, the Messenger of Allah, to Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah. Greetings! To us half the land belongs, and to Ḳuraish the other half, but Ḳuraish do not act equitably; and peace be unto thee. Written by ʿAmr ibn-al-Jârûd al-Ḥanafî."

To this the Prophet replied:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. From Muḥammad, the Prophet, to Musailimah, the false Prophet. Greetings! 'For the earth is Allah's: to such of his servants as he pleaseth doth he give it as a heritage'^[8]; and peace be to those who follow the true guidance! Written by Ubai ibn-Ka'b."^[9]

Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd goes against Musailimah. When, at the death of the Prophet, abu-Bakr was proclaimed caliph and, in a few months, destroyed those of the people of Najd and its environs who apostatized from Islâm, abu-Bakr sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmî to al-Yamâmah giving him orders to fight against Musailimah, the false Prophet. As Khalid came within sight of al-Yamâmah, he met a group of the banu-Ḥanîfah among whom was Mujjâ'ah ibn-Murârah ibn-Sulmî.^[10] He killed them and spared Mujjâ'ah whom he carried off in chains. Khâlid put up his camp one mile from al-Yamâmah. Banu-Ḥanîfah came out to him, and among them were ar-Rajjâl and Muḥakkim ibn-at-Ṭufail ibn-Subai', nicknamed the Muḥakkim al-Yamâmah. Khâlid, seeing something glittering among them, turned to his men and said, "Know ye Moslems that Allah has spared you the trouble of your enemy. Do ye not see how they have drawn the swords one against the other? I suppose there is discord among them, and their force will be used on themselves." Mujjâ'ah, fettered in his chains, shouted, "No, these are Indian swords which they, for fear of being broken, hold up to the sun in order to render the blades flexible." They then met. The first to meet the Moslems was ar-Rajjâl ibn-'Unfuwah, who was immediately killed by Allah's help. Many of the distinguished men and "Koran-readers" among the Moslems fell martyrs. The Moslems then returned and went back, but Allah favored them with a victory and made the people of al-Yamâmah take to flight. The Moslems pursued them, inflicting horrible death on them. Muḥakkim was hit by an arrow shot by 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abî-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq, the brother of 'Â'ishah through her father, and he fell dead. The "infidels" took refuge in al-Ḥadîqah which was since that day called "Ḥadîqat al-Maut."^[11] In al-Ḥadîqah, Musailimah was killed by Allah's help. Banu-'Amr ibn-Lu'ai ibn-Ghâlib said that he was killed by Khidâsh ibn-Bashîr ibn-al-Aṣamm of the banu-Ma'îṣ ibn-'Âmir ibn-Lu'ai; but certain *Anṣar* say that he was killed by 'Abdallâh ibn-Zaid ibn-Tha'labah of the banu-l-Ḥârith ibn-al-Khazraj, who was shown a vision of the call for prayer.^[12] Still others assert that he was killed by abu-Dujânah Simâk ibn-Kharashah who later fell as martyr; and others, by 'Abdallâh ibn-Zaid ibn-'Âsim, a brother of Ḥabîb ibn-Zaid of the banu-Mabdhul of the banu-an-Najjâr. This Ḥabîb had his hands and feet once cut off by Musailimah. Waḥshi ibn-Ḥarb al-Ḥabashi, the murderer of Ḥamzah, claimed that he was the one who killed Musailimah, and used to say, "I killed the best of all people and the worst of all people." Some believe that all those mentioned above took part in killing Musailimah. Among those who claimed having killed Musailimah, was Mu'âwiyah ibn-abî-Sufyân and the banu-Umayyah credited him for it.

Abu-Ḥafṣ ad-Dimashqî quotes from one who was present when 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân asked a man of the banu-Ḥanîfah who witnessed the battle of al-Yamâmah as to who was the one who killed Musailimah, to which the latter replied, "He was killed by one whose description is as follows:—" "By Allah", exclaimed 'Abd-al-Malik, "thou hast decided the question of his killing in favor of Mu'âwiyah."

According to a report, when the false Prophet was seized by the throat, he shouted, "O banu-Ḥanîfah, fight for your relatives!" which he repeated until Allah brought about his death.

‘Abd-al-Wâhid ibn-Ghiyâth from Hishâm ibn-‘Urwah's father:—The Arabs forsook the true faith, and abu-Bakr sent Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd who met them and said, "By Allah, I shall never cease until I come face to face with Musailimah!" The *Anṣâr* objected saying, "This idea is of your own and was not given out by abu-Bakr; take us back to al-Madînah that we may give rest to our horses." "I shall, by Allah, never cease," repeated Khâlid, "until I come face to face with Musailimah!" Consequently, the *Anṣâr* left him. They then said to themselves, "What is this that we have done? If our friends win the victory, we will be reviled; and if they are defeated, we would be the cause of their defeat." Thus they returned and joined Khâlid. The Moslems and the "polythesists" met, and the former took to flight until they got to their place of abode where as-Sâ'ib ibn-al-‘Auwâm stood up and addressed them saying, "Ye have reached, O people, your place of abode; and after his own place of abode, man has no place to flee to!"^[13] Finally, Allah caused the defeat of the "polytheists," and Musailimah was killed. Their watchword on that occasion was "O people of the *‘Sûrah* of the Cow'!"

I was told by one of the inhabitants of al-Yamâmah that some one, who was under the protection of the banu-Ḥanîfah, repeated the following verse when Muḥakkim was killed:

"If I escape from it, I escape from that which is a calamity;
otherwise out of the same vessel I shall drink."

Mujjâ‘ah makes terms. By this time, the Moslems were worn out by war and entirely exhausted. But Mujjâ‘ah said to Khâlid, "Most of the people of al-Yamâmah did not go out to fight you, and what ye have killed is only the small minority. In spite of that they have exhausted your utmost effort as I see. Nevertheless I am ready to make terms with you on their behalf." Accordingly, he made terms with Khâlid, agreeing to give one-half of the captives, gold, silver, coats of mail and horses. Having trusted him, Khâlid sent him back to his men. As soon as he entered al-Yamâmah he ordered the boys, women and aged men of al-Yamâmah to put on their arms and hold the forts. As Khâlid and the Moslems looked toward them, they entertained no doubt that they were fighters, and they said, "Mujjâ‘ah has told us the truth." Then Mujjâ‘ah came out to the Moslems' camp and said, "The people refused the terms which I made with you, and there are the fortifications of al-‘Irḍ manned to their fullest capacity. But I kept urging them until they agreed to make terms on one-fourth of the captives and one-half of the gold, silver, coats of mail and horses." Both parties agreed on these terms, and Khâlid accepted them and signed his name. Mujjâ‘ah then came with Khâlid to al-Yamâmah. Seeing those left in it, Khâlid turned to Mujjâ‘ah and said, "Thou hast cheated me, Mujjâ‘ah." The people of al-Yamâmah at last accepted Islâm, and the *ṣadaqah* was taken from them.

Khâlid reinforces al-‘Alâ’. Khâlid received the message of abu-Bakr directing him to reinforce al-‘Alâ’ ibn-al-Ḥaḍrami. Accordingly, he started for al-Bahrain and left in his place over al-Yamâmah Samurah ibn-‘Amr al-‘Anbari. The conquest of al-Yamâmah was effected in the year 12.

A description of Musailimah. I was told by abu-Rabâḥ al-Yamâmi, on the authority of certain *sheikhs* from al-Yamâmah, that Musailimah, the false Prophet, was short, exceedingly pale, with a camois and flat nose. He was nicknamed abu-Thumâmah, and

according to others, abu-Thumâlah. His *muezzin*^[14] was one, Ḥujair, who in calling to prayer used to chant, " I testify that Musailimah *claims* to be the Prophet of Allah." Remarking on this, some one said, "Ḥujair has expressed it eloquently," which phrase has since become a proverb.

Those who fell martyrs in al-Yamâmah. Among those who suffered martyrdom in al-Yamâmah were abu-Ḥudhaifah ibn-ʿUtbah ibn-Rabîʿah ibn-ʿAbd-Shams, whose first name was Hushaim, and some say Mihsham;^[15] Sâlim, a freedman of abu-Ḥudhaifah surnamed abu-ʿAbdallâh, and who was a freedman^[16] of Thubaitah daughter of Yaʿâr^[17] of the *Anṣâr* (and others say Nubaithah who was a woman); Khâlid ibn-ʿAsîd ibn-abi-l-ʿÎs ibn-Umaiyyah; ʿAbdallâh, i. e., Al-Ḥakam ibn-Saʿîd ibn-al-ʿÂsi ibn-Umaiyyah, who, according to others, was killed in the battle of Muʿtah; Shujâʿ ibn-Wahb al-Asadi, an ally of the banu-Umaiyyah, whose surname was abu-Wahb; aṭ-Ṭufail ibn-ʿAmr ad-Dausi of al-Azd; Yazîd ibn-Rukaish al-Asadi, an ally of the banu-Umaiyyah; Makhramah ibn-Shuraih al-Ḥaḍrami, an ally of the banu-Umaiyyah, as-Sâʿib ibn-al-ʿAuwâm, a brother of az-Zubair ibn-al-ʿAuwâm; al-Walîd ibn-ʿAbd-Shams ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmi; as-Sâʿib ibn-ʿUthmân ibn-Mazʿûn al-Jumahi; and Zaid ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb ibn-Nufail, a brother of ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, who, according to some, was killed by abu-Maryam al-Ḥanafi whose proper name was Ṣubaiḥ ibn-Muḥarrish. According to ibn-al-Kalbi, Zaid was killed by Labîd ibn-Burghuth al-ʿIjli, who later came to ʿUmar and ʿUmar said to him, "Thou art the sacks" (his name, Labîd, meaning sacks). The surname of Zaid was abu-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân, and he was the senior of ʿUmar. According to some, the proper name of abu-Maryam was Iyâs ibn-Ṣubaiḥ, and he was the first in the time of ʿUmar to hold the position of *kâḍî* in al-Baṣrah. He died in Sanbîl which lies in al-Ahwâz. Other martyrs were abu-Ḳais ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-ʿAdi ibn-Sahm; ʿAbdallâh ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-Ḳais, Salîṭ ibn-ʿAmr, a brother of Suhail ibn-ʿAmr of the banu-ʿAmr ibn-Luʿai; and Iyâs ibn-al-Bukair al-Kinâni. Among the *Anṣâr*, the following suffered martyrdom: ʿAbbâd ibn-al-Ḥârith ibn-ʿAdi of the banu-Jahjaba of al-Aus; ʿAbbâd ibn-Bishr ibn-Waksh al-Ashhali of al-Aus, surnamed abu-ar-Rabîʿ, and according to others, abu-Bishr; Mâlik ibn-Aus ibn-ʿAtîk al-Ashhali; abu-ʿAḳîl ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-Thaʿlabah ibn-Baiḥân al-Balawi, an ally of the banu-Jahjaba, and whose proper name was ʿAbd-al-ʿUzza, but who was called by the Prophet "ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân the enemy of the idols"; Surâkah ibn-Kaʿb ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿUzza an-Najjâri of al-Khazraj; Umârah ibn-Ḥazm ibn-Zaid ibn-Laudhân an-Najjâri (who is supposed by others to have died in the time of Muʿâwiyah); Ḥabîb ibn-ʿAmr ibn-Miḥṣan an-Najjâri; Maʿn ibn-ʿAdi ibn-al-Jadd ibn-al-ʿAjlân al-Balawi of the Ḳudâʿah, and an ally of the *Anṣâr*; Thâbit ibn-Ḳais ibn-Shammâs ibn-abi-Zuhair the *khaṭîb* of the Prophet and who was of the banu-l-Ḥârith ibn-al-Khazraj (whose surname was abu-Muḥammad, and who at that time was the commander of the *Anṣâr*); abu-Ḥannah ibn-Ghuzaiyyah ibn-ʿAmr one of the banu-Mâzin ibn-an-Najjâr; al-ʿÂsi ibn-Thaʿlabah ad-Dausi of al-Azd, an ally of the *Anṣâr*; abu-Dujânah Simâk ibn-Aus ibn-Kharashah ibn-Laudhân as-Sâʿidi of al-Khazraj; abu-Usaid Mâlik ibn-Rabîʿah as-Sâʿidi (others say he died in al-Madînah, year 60); ʿAbdallâh ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-Ubai ibn-Mâlik (whose first name was al-Ḥubâb but who was given by the Prophet his father's name. His father played the hypocrite in religion. He is the one called ibn-Ubai ibn-Salûl, Salûl being the mother of Ubai and of [the clan of] Khuzâʿah, and he bears her name. His father was Mâlik ibn-al-Ḥârith of the banu-l-Khazraj (others say he suffered martyrdom in the battle of Juwâtha at al-Baḥrain); ʿUḳbah ibn-ʿÂmir ibn-Nâbiʿ of the banu-Salimah of al-Khazraj; and al-Ḥârith ibn-Kaʿb ibn-ʿAmr of the banu-an-Najjâr. The Prophet had sent Ḥabîb ibn-Zaid ibn-ʿÂsim of the banu-Mabdhûl ibn-ʿAmr ibn-Ghanm ibn-Mâzin ibn-an-Najjâr, together with ʿAbdallâh ibn-Wahb al-Aslami to Musailimah. Musailimah did not molest ʿAbdallâh, but cut off the hands and feet of Ḥabîb. The mother of Ḥabîb

was Nusaibah, daughter of Ka'b. According to al-Wâkidi, the two men [sent by the Prophet] came from 'Umân in the company of 'Amr ibn-al-Âsi. Musailimah drove them back. 'Amr and all those in his company escaped, with the exception of these two who were captured. In the battle of al-Yamâmah, Nusaibah took part in the fight and returned with a number of wounds inflicted on her. She is the mother of Ḥabîb and 'Abdallâh, the sons of Zaid. She also took part in the battle of Uḥud, and was one of the two women who "swore allegiance" in the day of al-Aḳabah.^[18] Other martyrs of the battle of al-Yamâmah were 'Â'idh ibn-Mâ'is az-Zuraḳi of al-Khazraj and Yazîd ibn-Thâbit al-Khazraji, a brother of Zaid ibn-Thâbit, the authority on "The Laws of Heritage."^[19]

Regarding the number of those that fell as martyrs in al-Yamâmah, there is no agreement. The minimum estimate mentioned is 700, the maximum 1,700, while others assert that they were 1,200.

Mujjâ'ah is assigned al-Ghûrah and other fiefs. Al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm from Hishâm ibn-Ismâ'îl:—There came to the Prophet Mujjâ'ah-l-Yamâmi to whom the Prophet gave a fief and wrote the following statement: "In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This statement is written by Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, to Mujjâ'ah ibn-Murârah ibn-Sulmi. I give thee as fief al-Ghârah, Ghurâbah,^[20] and al-Ḥubal. If any one objects, refer him to me." (Al-Ghûrah is the chief village of al-Ghurâbât and is close to Kârât). After the death of the Prophet, Mujjâ'ah came to abu-Bakr, who assigned him as fief al-Khiḍrimah. Later he came to 'Umar, who assigned to him ar-Raiya. After that he came to 'Uthmân, who assigned to him another fief "the name of which," says al-Ḥarith,^[21] "I do not remember."

Furât ibn-Ḥaiyân gets a fief. Al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm from 'Adi ibn-Ḥâtim:—The Prophet assigned to Furât ibn-Ḥaiyân al-'Ijli a piece of land in al-Yamâmah.

The "park of death." Muḥammad ibn-Thumâl al-Yamâmi from certain *sheikhs*:—The Ḥadîkah was called Ḥadîkat al-Maut [the park of death] because of the great number of people that were slain in it. In the time of al-Ma'mûn, Ishâk ibn-abî-Khamîṣah, a freedman of Kais, built in it a cathedral mosque. The Ḥadîkah before that time was known as Ubâd.

According to Muḥammad ibn-Thumâl, the Kaṣr al-Ward^[22] was named after al-Ward ibn-as-Samîn ibn-'Ubaid al-Ḥanafî. According to another, the fortification was called Mu'tik [i. e., emancipator] because of its strength, indicating thereby that he who takes refuge in it is safe from his enemy.

Ar-Raiya spring. Ar-Raiya was a spring from which the aṣ-Sa'fûkah, as well as al-Khuyaibah and al-Khiḍrimah, got their drinking water, aṣ-Sa'fûkah^[23] being a crown-land thus called after one of the agents over it, whose name was Sa'fûk.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Hishâm, p. 971.
2. Raḥḥal, see ibn-Sa'd in *Skizzen*, vol. iv, p. 46.
3. Bukhârî, vol. iii, p. 167.
4. Ibn-Duraid, p. 209; Nawâwi, p. 554; Hishâm, p. 945.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE APOSTASY OF THE ARABS IN THE CALIPHATE OF ABU-BAKR AṢ-ṢIDDĪQ

Abu-Bakr threatens those who withhold ṣadaqah. When abu-Bakr was proclaimed caliph, certain Arab tribes apostatized from Islām and withheld the ṣadaqah. Some of them, however, said, "We shall observe prayer but not pay zakât." In reference to that abu-Bakr said, "If they refuse me a one-year ṣadaqah,^[1] I shall surely fight against them." According to other reports he said, "If they refuse me a two-year ṣadaqah."

ʿAbdallāh ibn-Ṣâliḥ al-ʿIjli from ash-Shaʿbi:—ʿAbdallāh ibn-Masʿūd said, "After the death of the Prophet we found ourselves in a state in which we would have perished had not Allah favored us with abu-Bakr. By the consensus of opinion, we agreed not to fight on a female camel that had entered on its second year or a male camel that had entered on its third year, but appropriate for ourselves the income of Kura ʿArabîyah^[2] and worship Allah until the right course is revealed unto us." Allah gave orders to abu-Bakr to fight them. Then, by Allah, abu-Bakr was not satisfied by anything but one of two:—a humiliating plan or an evacuating war. As for the humiliating plan, it was that they acknowledge that those of their number who were killed went to hell, and that our property that fell into their hands should be returned to us; and the evacuating war was that they leave their homes.

The delegation of Buzâkhah. Ibrâhim ibn-Muḥammad from Ṭâriq ibn-Shihâb:—A delegation from Buzâkhah came to abu-Bakr and he gave them their choice between "the evacuating war" or "the humiliating peace". To this they replied, "'The evacuating war' we have known what it is, what is then 'the humiliating peace?'" "It is," said abu-Bakr, "that we deprive you of the coats of mail and horses, and keep the booty we took from you; and that ye return the booty ye took from us, pay bloodwit for those of us who were slain and consider those of you who were slain to be in hell-fire."

Shujâʿ ibn-Mukhallad al-Fallâs from ʿĀʾishah the "mother of the Believers":—The latter said, "After the death of the Prophet, what befell my father^[3] would have softened the firm mountains if it had befallen them. Hypocrisy in al-Madînah exalted itself, and the Arabs apostatized from their faith. By Allah, not a point they disagreed upon, which my father did not cause to disappear as something without which Islam could do [?]."

Abu-Bakr dispatches an army. Abu-Bakr set out to al-Ḳaṣṣah^[4] in the land which belongs to Muḥârib in order to direct the armies marching against the apostates. He was accompanied by the Moslems. Those who went against the Moslems were Khârijah ibn-Ḥiṣn ibn-Ḥudhaifah ibn-Badr al-Fazâri^[5] and Manẓûr ibn-Zabbân ibn-Saiyâr al-Fazâri of the banu-l-‘Usharâ’, who were joined with the tribe of Ghatafân. The fight raged fiercely but the "polytheists" were put to flight, and abu-Bakr sent Ṭalhah ibn-‘Ubaidallâh at-Taimi in their pursuit. Ṭalhah fell upon them at the lower part of Thanâya ‘Ausajah where he killed only one of them, all the rest having fled away, and he could not catch up with them. This made Khârijah ibn-Ḥiṣn repeat, "Woe to the Arabs because of ibn-abi-Ḳuḥâfah [i. e. abu-Bakr]."

While abu-Bakr was at al-Ḳaṣṣah, he set Khâlîd ibn-al-Walîd ibn-al-Mughîrah al-Makhzûmi in command over the people,^[6] and sent over the *Anṣâr* Thâbit ibn-Ḳais ibn-Shammâs al-Anṣâri, who was one of those that [later] suffered martyrdom in the battle of al-Yamâmah. Thâbit, however, was subordinate to Khâlîd. Abu-Bakr ordered Khâlîd to direct his course towards Ṭulaiḥah ibn-Khuwailid al-Asadi, who had claimed to be a prophet^[7] and was then at Buzâkhah. This Buzâkhah is a spring belonging to the banu-Asad ibn-Khuzaimah. Khâlîd set out against him and sent before him ‘Ukkâshah ibn-Miḥṣan al-Asadi, an ally of the banu-‘Abd-Shams, together with Thâbit ibn-Aḳram al-Balawi, an ally of the *Anṣâr*. Ḥibâl ibn-Khuwailid^[8] met them and was slain by them. Having heard the news, Ṭulaiḥah with his brother, Salamah, set out and, meeting ‘Ukkâshah and Thâbit, slew them both. Regarding this event Ṭulaiḥah sang:

"As I saw their faces I thought of my brother Ḥibâl
and was sure that I was going to avenge his death.

It was on the evening of that day that I left ibn-Aḳram in his grave,
together with ‘Ukkâshah al-Ghanmi, by the battlefield."

The Moslems and their enemy at last met and a fierce battle was fought. With Ṭulaiḥah in the fight was ‘Uyainah ibn-Ḥiṣn ibn-Ḥudhaifah ibn-Badr at the head of 700 men of the banu-Fazârah. When ‘Uyainah saw the swords of the Moslems butchering the "polytheists," he came to Ṭulaiḥah asking, "Canst thou not see what the army of abu-l-Faṣîl^[9] is doing, and did not Gabriel bring thee any message?" "Yes" said Ṭulaiḥah, "Gabriel came to me and said 'Thou wilt have a grinding stone as he has, and a day that thou wilt never forget!'"^[10] "By Allah," cried ‘Uyainah, "I believe that thou wilt have a day which thou wilt never forget. O banu-Fazârah, this is a false prophet." Saying this, he left Ṭulaiḥah's army which was soon after defeated. The Moslems were victorious. ‘Uyainah ibn-Ḥiṣn was taken captive and brought to al-Madînah. Abu-Bakr spared his life and set him free. Ṭulaiḥah ibn-Khuwailid took to flight and entered a tent of his, where he took a bath and went out. Then he rode on his horse, intending to visit the sacred places, and came to Makkah, then to al-Madînah professing Islâm. According to others, he came to Syria, was taken hold of by those of the Moslems who were on a campaign, and sent to abu-Bakr in al-Madînah, where he became Moslem. Later, he distinguished himself in the conquest of al-‘Irâq and Nihâwand. One day, ‘Umar said to him, "Didst thou kill the faithful servant ‘Ukkâshah ibn-Miḥṣan?" And he replied, "I have been the means of bringing about the welfare of ‘Ukkâshah ibn-Miḥṣan; and he has been the means of bringing about^[11] my misery. I beg Allah's pardon upon me."

Dâ'ûd ibn-Hibâl al-Asadi told me on the authority of certain *sheikhs* among his people that 'Umar ibn-al-Khattâb said to Ṭulaiḥah, "Thou didst lie before Allah when thou didst claim that he revealed to thee the text, 'Allah has nothing to do with the dust on your faces and the ugliness of your Hinder parts. When ye therefore mention Allah, be abstemious and stand upright, for, verily, froth is on the surface of what is pure.'"^[12] "Commander of the Believers", replied Ṭulaiḥah, "this is one of the corruptions of unbelief which has altogether been destroyed by Islâm. I am not, therefore, to be scolded for holding a part of it." 'Umar remained silent.

Khâlid in Rammân and Abânain. Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd came to Rammân^[13] and Abânain^[14] where the remnant of the army of Buzâkhah stood. They refrained from fighting against him and swore allegiance before him to abu-Bakr.

Banu-Âmir ibn-Sa'sa'ah embrace Islâm. Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd sent Hishâm ibn-al-Âsi ibn-Wâ'il as-Sahmi., a brother of 'Amr ibn-al-Âsi, one of the early Moslems and one of the *Emigrants* to Abyssinia, to the banu-Âmir ibn Sa'sa'ah. Banu-Âmir did not resist him and professed Islâm and practised the call to prayer. So he left them.

Kurrah's life spared. Kurrah ibn-Hubairah-l-Kushairi, having refused to pay *sadaqah* and reinforced Ṭulaiḥah, was taken by Hishâm ibn-al-Âsi to Khâlid. The latter carried him to abu-Bakr to whom Kurrah said, "By Allah I never forsook my faith since I became a believer. As 'Amr ibn-al-Âsi on his way back from 'Umaân passed by me, I treated him hospitably and was loyal to him." 'Amr was questioned by abu-Bakr regarding that, and he corroborated the statement. Consequently, abu-Bakr spared Kurrah's life.

Others assert that Khâlid advanced to the land of the banu-Âmir, took Kurrah captive and sent him to abu-Bakr.

The battle of al-Ghamr. Then Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd advanced to al-Ghamr^[15] where a band of the banu-Asad, Ghatafân and others had gathered under the leadership of Khârijah ibn-Ḥiṣn ibn-Ḥudhaifah. According to others, they had on different days different leaders, and each party had its own leader drawn from its own ranks. They fought against Khâlid and the Moslems, with the result that some of them were killed and the others took to flight. With reference to the battle of al-Ghamr says al-Ḥuṭai'ah-l-'Absi:

"Yea, may all short and humble lances be sacrificed,
in favor of the horsemen's lances at al-Ghamr!"^[16]

Khâlid meets abu-Shajarah. Thence Khâlid moved to Jau Qurâkir.^[17] Others say he moved to an-Nuḡrah. There a crowd was gathered by the banu-Sulaim and put under the leadership of abu-Shajarah 'Amr ibn-'Abd-al-'Uzza as-Sulami whose mother was al-Khansâ'. They fought against Khâlid, and one of the Moslems fell a martyr. By Allah's help at last, the "polytheists" troops were dispersed, and Khâlid had on that day the apostates burned. When abu-Bakr was told about it, he said, "I shall not sheathe a sword

that Allah had unsheathed against the 'unbelievers.'" Abu-Shajarah accepted Islâm, and coming to 'Umar found him distributing alms among the poor, so he begged for some. 'Umar asked him, "Art thou not the one who said:

'I quenched my lance's thirst on Khâlid's troops,
and I hope after this that my life will be prolonged'?"

Saying this, he lashed him with the whip.^[18] "Islâm, O 'Commander of the Believers,'" replied abu-Shajarah, "has blotted all this out."

Al-Fujâ'ah put to death by fire. There came to abu-Bakr one, al-Fujâ'ah, whose proper name was Bujair ibn-Iyâs ibn-'Abdallâh as-Sulami, and said to him, "Give me horse and arms that I may fight against the apostates." Abu-Bakr gave him horse and arms. Al-Fujâ'ah began to molest the people, killing both Moslems and apostates. He, moreover, gathered a large body of men. Abu-Bakr wrote to Ṭuraifah ibn-Hâjizah, a brother of Ma'n ibn-Hâjizah, ordering him to go against him. This, ibn-Hâjizah did and captured him. He then sent him to abu-Bakr, who ordered him burned in the neighborhood of al-Muṣalla [place of prayer]. Others say that abu-Bakr wrote to Ma'n concerning al-Fujâ'ah, and Ma'n directed against him his brother, Ṭuraifah, who captured him.

Khâlid in al-Buṭâḥ and al-Ba'ûdah. Later, Khâlid set out against those of the banu-Tamîm who were in al-Buṭâḥ^[19] and al-Ba'ûdah. They fought against him, but he dispersed them^[20] killing Mâlik ibn-Nuwairah, a brother of Mutammam ibn-Nuwairah. This Mâlik was the Prophet's *âmil* for the *ṣadaqahs* of the banu-Ḥanzalah. When the Prophet died Mâlik held whatever was in his keeping and said to banu-Ḥanzalah, "Keep your own money."

Mâlik beheaded. According to other reports, Khâlid met nobody in either al-Buṭâḥ or al-Ba'ûdah, but he sent detachments among the banu-Tamîm, one of which was under Ḍirâr ibn-al-Azwar al-Asadi. Ḍirâr met Mâlik and, as a result of the conflict which ensued, Ḍirâr took Mâlik and some others captive, and brought them before Khâlid. In accordance with Khâlid's orders, their heads were cut off,^[21] Ḍirâr with his own hand cutting off that of Mâlik. According to certain reports, Mâlik said to Khâlid, "By Allah, I did not apostatize!" And abu-Ḳatâdah-l-Anṣâri gave witness that the banu-Ḥanzalah had laid down their arms and made the public call to prayer. Hearing this, 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb said to abu-Bakr, "Thou hast sent a man who kills Moslems and tortures by fire!"

It is reported that Mutammam ibn-Nuwairah once came to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb who asked him, "How far did thy sorrow over thy brother, Mâlik, carry thee?" "I wept over him for one year," said Mutammam, "until my sound eye envied the one that had gone; and never did I see fire without feeling as if my grief was strong enough to kill me, because he always left his fire burning till the morning, lest a guest should come and fail to locate his place." 'Umar then asked for a description of him, and Mutammam said, "He used to ride a restive steed and lead a slow-paced camel, while he would be between two water bags exuding water in the chilly night, wrapped up in a loose garment, and armed

with a long lance. Thus would he go through the night until the morn. His face was a fragment of a moon."^[22] "Sing me," said 'Umar, "some of what thou hast composed regarding him." And Mutammam repeated the elegy in which he said:

"For a long time we were boon companions like the two fellow-drinkers of Jadhîmah, that people said, 'They will never be separated!'"^[23]

"If I could write good poetry" remarked 'Umar, "I would have written an elegy on my brother, Zaid." "It is not a parallel case, 'Commander of the Believers'", answered Mutammam, "had my brother met the same death that thy brother has met, I would not have mourned over him." "Nobody did ever console me," said 'Umar, "as well as thou didst."^[24]

Sajâh the Prophetess. Umm-Şâdir Sajâh, daughter of Aus ibn-Hiḳk ibn-Usâmah ibn-al-Ghanîz ibn-Yarbû' ibn-Hanzalah ibn-Mâlik ibn-Zaid Manât ibn-Tamîm (others say she was Sajâh, daughter of al-Hârith ibn-'Ukfân ibn-Suwaïd ibn-Khâlid ibn-Usâmah), claimed to be a prophetess and a soothsayer.^[25] She was followed by some of the banu-Tamîm and some of her uncles on her mother's side of the banu-Taghlib. One day she composed the following rhyming sentences: "The Lord of heavens orders you to carry out against ar-Ribâb^[26] invasions." She invaded them but was defeated by them, they being the only ones who fought against her.^[27] She then came to Musailimah-l-Kadhhdhâb [the false Prophet] at Hajar and married him,^[28] making her religion one with his. When he was killed, she returned to her brethren and there she died. According to ibn-al-Kalbi, however, Sajâh accepted Islâm and emigrated to al-Başrah and remained a good Moslem. 'Abd-al-A'la ibn-Hammâd an-Narsi heard it said by certain *sheikhs* of al-Başrah that Samurah ibn-Jundab al-Fazâri led her funeral service as he was the governor of al-Başrah under Mu'âwiyah before the arrival of 'Abdallâh ibn-Ziyâd from Khurâsân to assume the office of governor of al-Başrah. Ibn-al-Kalbi added that the *muezzin* of Sajâh was al-Janabah^[29] ibn-Târik ibn-'Amr ibn-Hauf ar-Riyâhi, and others say^[30] it was Shabath ibn-Rib'i ar-Riyâhi.

The insurrection of Khaulân. Khaulân in al-Yaman having apostatized, 'Umar sent against them Ya'la ibn-Munyah (Munyah, his mother, was of the banu-Mâzin ibn-Manşûr ibn-Ikrimah ibn-Khaşafah ibn-Ḳais ibn-'Ailân ibn-Muḍar, and his father was Umaiyyah ibn-abi-'Ubaidah, one of the sons of Mâlik ibn-Hanzalah ibn-Mâlik, an ally of the banu-Naufal ibn-'Abd-Manâf) who won a great victory over them and carried away booty and captives. According to others, however, he met no resistance, and all of them returned to Islâm.

Footnotes

1. Ar. *ikâl*, see an-Nasâ'i, *Sunan*, vol. i, p. 335.
2. Yahya ibn-Ādaín, p. 122; Bakri, p. 657.
3. Abu-Bakr.
4. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1870: "dhu-l-Ḳaşṣah."

5. Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii¹, p. 37.
6. Yâ'kûbi, vol. ii, p. 145.
7. He imitated Muḥammad by composing *saj'* or rhyming prose, see Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1738; and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 4001.
8. Hishâm, p. 453.
9. Khâlid's surname was abu-Sulaimân, see Nawâwi, p. 224; and ibn-Ḳutaibah, *Kitâb al-Ma'ârif*, p. 90.
10. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1897; Athîr, vol. ii, p. 264.
11. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1898.
12. Freytag, *Prov.*, vol. i, p. 174, no. 80, and p. 731, no. 63.
13. Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 815; Bakri, p. 412.
14. or Abânân; Yâkût, vol. i, p. 75; Bakri, p. 63.
15. *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 11, note 1.
16. Bakri, p. 696, and p. 718, line 12.
17. Cf. Yâkût, vol. ii, p. 161, lines 12–13.
18. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1907.
19. Yâkût, vol. i, p. 661.
20. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1924.
21. Cf. Ḥajar, vol. iii, p. 722; abu-l-Fida, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. i, p. 158, (Cairo, 1325).
22. Cf. De Slane, Ibn-Khallikân, vol. iii, pp. 651–652.
23. *Aghâni*, vol. xiv, pp. 70–71.
24. Ibn-Ḳutaibah, *Kitâb ash-Shi'r*, pp. 193–194.
25. Ar. *kâhin*; see *Skizzen*, vol. iii, p. 130; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, vol. i, pp. 107–108; Zaidân, vol. iii, pp. 16–18; J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. i, p. 230.
26. The confederate tribes of Ṭai, 'Adi and 'Uḳl.
27. *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 14.
28. *Aghâni*, vol. xii, p. 157; abu-l-Fida, vol. i, p. 157 (Cairo, 1325).
29. Dhahabi, *Mushtabih*, p. 141.
30. Duraid, p. 137.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 20

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CHAPTER XX

THE APOSTASY OF THE BANU-WALÎ'AH AN AL-ASH'ATH IBN-MA'DIKARIB IBN-MU'ÂWIYAH-L-KINDI

The cause of the insurrection of Kindah. The Prophet sent Ziyâd ibn-Labîd al-Bayaḍi of the Anṣâr as governor to Ḥaḍramaut; later extending his power over the Kindah. According to others, it was abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq who extended his power over the Kindah. This Ziyâd ibn-Labîd was a resolute and sturdy man, and took young she-camels as *ṣadaqah* from a certain man of the banu-Kindah. The Kindah man asked him to return them and take something else, but having marked them with the *ṣadaqah* brand, Labîd refused his request. Labîd was approached by al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais, but still he refused saying, "Never will I return a thing that has been branded with the mark." This caused an uprising of all Kindah against him with the exception of as-Sakûn who still adhered to his side. Hence the verse of their poet:

"It was we that came to the rescue of the faith,
when our people miserably went astray and we supported ibn-umm-Ziyâd.
From the right claim of al-Bayâḍi we sought not to deviate,
and the piety of Allah was our best provision."

Banu-'Amr gathered against Labîd. Against Labîd were assembled the banu-'Amr ibn-Mu'âwiyah ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Kindi. Labîd, at the head of the Moslems, attacked them during the night time and killed many, among whom were Mikhwah, Mishrah, Jamad and Abḍa'ah the sons of Ma'dikarib ibn-Walî'ah ibn-Shurahbîl ibn-Mu'âwiyah ibn-Ḥujr al-Ḳarid (Ḳarid in their dialect means horse) ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Wallâdah ibn-'Amr ibn-Mu'âwiyah ibn-al-Ḥârith. These four brothers were in possession of so many valleys that they were called the "four kings." Previous to this, they had presented themselves before the Prophet, but later on they apostatized. Their sister, al-'Amarradah, was killed by one who mistook her for a man.

Ziyâd fights against al-Ash'ath. As Ziyâd returned with captives and booty, he passed by al-Ash'ath ibn-Ḳais and his people. Seeing him, the women and children began to cry^[1] which made al-Ash'ath burn with indignation, and set out with a band of his men.^[2] He fell upon Ziyâd and his companions, and many Moslems were lost. The

Moslems were then defeated, and all the great men of Kindah rallied to the support of al-Ash'ath ibn-Kais. Seeing this, Ziyâd wrote to abu-Bakr asking for reinforcement. Abu-Bakr wrote to al-Muhâjir ibn-abi-Umaiya, ordering him to reinforce Ziyâd. Ziyâd and al-Muhâjir, at the head of the Moslems, met al-Ash'ath and dispelled his men, and attacking his companions, made a fearful slaughter among them. Thence al-Ash'ath's men took refuge in a fortification of theirs, an-Nujair, where the Moslems besieged them. The siege was pressed until they were exhausted and al-Ash'ath sought safety for a certain number of his men. He did not include himself in that number because al-Jifshîsh^[3] al-Kindi, whose name was Ma'dân ibn-al-Aswad ibn-Ma'dikarib, holding him by the waist, said, "Include me in that number."^[4] Thus al-Ash'ath excluded himself in favor of al-Jifshîsh. Al-Ash'ath presented himself before Ziyâd ibn-Labîd and al-Muhâjir who sent him to abu-Bakr. The latter favored him by giving to him in marriage his sister umm-Farwah,^[5] daughter of abu-Ḳuhâfah, who later gave birth to Muḥammad, Ishâk, Ḳuraibah, Ḥubâbah and Ja'dah. According to others, abu-Bakr gave him in marriage his sister Ḳuraibah; and when he married her, he came to the market, and every slaughtered camel he saw, he cut its two heel-tendons, paid its price and gave it to the people to eat. After living in al-Madînah, he set out on a razzia to Syria and al-'Irâk. His death took place at al-Kûfah where his funeral service was conducted by al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ali ibn-abi-Tâlib, after the latter had been reconciled with Mu'âwiyah. This al-Ash'ath was surnamed abu-Muḥammad and nicknamed "Urf an-Nâr" [the fire-crest].

The insurrection of the banu-Walî'ah and al-Ash'ath. According to other reports, the banu-Walî'ah apostatized before the Prophet's death. When Ziyâd ibn-Labîd heard of his death, he called the people to swear allegiance to abu-Bakr, which they all did with the exception of the banu-Walî'ah. Ziyâd fell upon them in the night time and killed them. Al-Ash'ath apostatized and fortified himself in an-Nujair where he was besieged by Ziyâd ibn-Labîd and al-Muhâjir who joined hands against him. Abu-Bakr sent 'Ikrimah ibn-abi-Jahl, after his departure from 'Umân, to reinforce them; but on his arrival, an-Nujair was already reduced. Abu-Bakr requested the Moslems to share the booty with him, which they did.

Ath-Thabjâ' and Hind severely punished. It is reported that certain women at an-Nujair having rejoiced at the death of the Prophet, abu-Bakr wrote ordering that their hands and feet be cut off. Among these women were ath-Thabjâ' al-Ḥaḍramîyah, and Hind, daughter of Yamîn, the Jewess.

The Prophet assigns governors to Ṣan'â', Kindah, Ḥaḍramaut and aṣ-Ṣadîf. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from certain *sheikhs* of al-Yaman:—The Prophet made Khâlîd ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi governor of Ṣan'â', but he was driven out of it by al-'Ansi, the false Prophet. Over the Kindah, he assigned al-Muhâjir ibn-abi-Umaiya; over Ḥaḍramaut and aṣ-Ṣadîf, Ziyâd ibn-Labîd al-Anṣârî. Aṣ-Ṣadîf were the descendants of Mâlik ibn-Muratti' ibn-Mu'âwiyah ibn-Kindah.^[6] They were called Ṣadîf because Muratti' married a woman from Ḥaḍramaut and made it a condition that she would take up her abode with him, and in case she bore a child he would not force her to remain away from her people's home. She did bear a child, Mâlik, and the judge decided that Murratti' should send her back to her people. When Mâlik left him with her, Murratti' said, "Mâlik turned away [Ar.-ṣadafa] from me." Hence the name aṣ-Ṣadîf.

The insurrection of the banu-'Amr. 'Abd-ar-Razzâk said that he was told by certain *sheikhs* from al-Yaman that abu-Bakr wrote to Ziyâd ibn-Labîd and to al-Muhâjir ibn-abi-Umaiya-l-Makhzûmi who was then over Kindah, ordering them to come together

and work hand in hand and with one accord in order to secure for him the caliphate and fight against him who refrains from paying *ṣadaqah*, and that they should get the help of the Believers against the Unbelievers and of the obedient against the disobedient and transgressors. Once they took as *ṣadaqah* from a Kindah man a youthful she-camel. He asked them to change it for another. Al-Muhâjir allowed it, but Ziyâd insisted on keeping the camel saying, "Never will I return it after being stamped with the *ṣadaqah* brand." Therefore, the banu-ʿAmr ibn-Muʿâwiyah gathered a large body of men. Then said Ziyâd ibn-Labîd to al-Muhâjir, "Thou dost see this crowd. It is not wise to have us all leave our position. Separate, therefore, thyself with a band of men from the main army, and that will keep our plans concealed. Then I will attack these 'unbelievers' in their homes at night." Ziyâd was resolute and sturdy. He went against the banu-ʿAmr and, under the cover of the night, fell upon them and some of them began to kill the others. At last Ziyâd and al-Muhâjir met accompanied by the captives and prisoners. They were intercepted by al-Ashʿath ibn-Qais and the leading men of Kindah, who fought a fierce battle against them. At last the Kindis fortified themselves in an-Nujair, where the siege was pressed against them until they were exhausted and greatly damaged and al-Ashʿath surrendered. Some say that the Ḥadramaut had come to reinforce the Kindah but were met by Ziyâd and al-Muhâjir who defeated them.

The apostasy of Khawlân. Now Khawlân apostatized, and abu-Bakr directed against them Yaʿla ibn-Munyah who fought against them until they yielded and agreed to give *ṣadaqah*. Then al-Muhâjir received abu-Bakr's letter conferring on him the governorship of Ṣanʿâʾ and its adjoining districts, making his province border on what Ziyâd already held.^[7] Thus was al-Yaman divided among three: al-Muhjâir, Ziyâd and Yaʿla. The land between the extreme limit of al-Ḥijâz and the extreme limit of Najrân was assigned to abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb.

The story of al-Ashʿath. Abu-Naṣr at-Tammâr from Ibrâhim an-Nakhaʿi:—Al-Ashʿath ibn-Qais al-Kindi, together with some of the Kindah tribe, apostatized and were besieged. Al-Ashʿath secured safety for 70 of his men but did not include himself among them. He was therefore brought before abu-Bakr who said to him, "We shall certainly kill thee, as thou art under no safe conduct, having excluded thyself from that group." "Nay," answered al-Ashʿath, "Thou, successor of the Messenger of Allah, wilt rather favor me with a wife." This abu-Bakr did, giving him his own sister in marriage.

Three things abu-Bakr wished he had done. Al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm abu-ʿUbaid^[8] from abu-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîk:—The latter said, "I wish I had done three things that I did not do:— I wish I had cut off the head of al-Ashʿath ibn-Qais when he was brought before me, because it seemed to me there was no sort of evil to be done which he would not attempt to do or help to bring about; I wish I had killed rather than burnt al-Fujâʾah when he was brought before me; and I wish I had directed ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb to al-ʿIrâq as I had directed Khâlîd to Syria, and thus would have extended both my right and left arms in the cause of Allah."^[9]

The captives of an-Nujair ransomed. ʿAbdallâh ibn-Sâlih al-ʿIjli from ash-Shaʿbi:—Abu-Bakr returned the captives of an-Nujair by ransom receiving 400 *dirhams* for each head. In order to pay for them, al-Ashʿath ibn-Qais had to borrow from the merchants of al-Madînah. After paying the ransom of the captives, he returned the loan. Al-Ashʿath ibn-Qais wrote the following elegy for Bashîr ibn-al-Audah, who was one of the delegates to the Prophet and who later apostatized, Yazîd ibn-Amânât and those slain in the battle of an-Nujair:—

"By my life—and life is not an insignificant thing to me—
 I had the greatest right to hold tenaciously to those who fell dead.
 There is no wonder except when they divide their captives;
 and the world after them is not safe for me.
 I am like the camel that lost her young and her milk flows,
 when she longs for them and comes to the bag, stuffed with straw.
 Let the tears of my eyes, therefore, flow
 for the loss of the noble ibn-Amânât and the generous Bashîr."

Footnotes

1. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2005.
2. Ya'ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 149.
3. Jafshîsh in Fairûzâbâdi, *al-Ḳâmûs*, vol. ii, p. 276.
4. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2009.
5. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2012.
6. Khallikân, vol. iv, pp. 595–596.
7. Caetani, vol. ii, p. 804.
8. Bakri, p. 747, line 14.
9. Yâ'ḳûbi, vol. ii, pp. 155-156; Mas'ûdi, vol. iv, pp. 184–185.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 1/Chapter 21

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CHAPTER XXI

AL-ASWAD AL-‘ANSI AND THOSE IN AL-YAMAN WHO APOSTATIZED WITH HIM

Al-Aswad al-‘Ansi claims to be a prophet. Al-Aswad ibn-Ka‘b ibn-‘Auf al-‘Ansi played the soothsayer [Ar. *kâhin*] and claimed to be a prophet. He was followed by the ‘Ans tribe which was named after Zaid ibn-Mâlik ibn-Udad ibn-Yashjub ibn-‘Arîb^[1] ibn-Zaid ibn-Kahlân ibn-Saba, who was the brother of Murâd ibn-Mâlik, Khâlid ibn-Mâlik and Sa‘d al-‘Ashîrah ibn-Mâlik, together with others outside the ‘Ans tribe. Al-Aswad took for himself the name of "Raḥmân [the merciful of] al-Yaman," as Musailimah had taken the name of " Raḥmân al-Yamâmah."^[2] He had a trained donkey that would bow on hearing his injunction, "Bow before thy Lord," and that would kneel on hearing "Kneel". Therefore, al-Aswad was called "dhu-l-Ḥimâr^[3] [he of the donkey]. Others say he was called "dhu-l-Khimâr" [the veiled one] because he always appeared with a veil and turban.^[4] I was told by others from al-Yaman that he was called al-Aswad because the color of his face was black, his proper name being ‘Aihalâh.

The Prophet invites him to Islâm. In the year in which the Prophet died, he sent Jarîr ibn-‘Abdallâh al-Bajali, who had in that same year accepted Islâm, against al-Aswad, inviting him to Islâm. But al-Aswad refused. Other reports deny that the Prophet sent Jarîr to al-Yaman.

Al-Aswad as governor of Ṣan‘â’. Al-Aswad moved against Ṣan‘â’ and reduced it, driving Khâlid ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Asi from it. Others say he rather drove al-Muhâjir ibn-abi-Umaiyyah, and took quarters with Ziyâd ibn-Labîd al-Bayaḍi, with whom he remained until he received a message from abu-Bakr ordering him to go to the aid of Ziyâd. When the work of Ziyâd and al-Aswad was done, abu-Bakr conferred on the latter the governorship of Ṣan‘â’ and its provinces. Al-Aswad, however, was haughty and he oppressed al-Abnâ’, i. e., the descendants of the Persians who were originally sent to al-Yaman by Kisra in the company of ibn-dhi-Yazan and under the leadership of Wahriz. Al-Aswad made them serve him and compelled them to do things against their will. Moreover, he married al-Marzubânâh, the wife of Bâdhâm their king, who was their governor under Abarwiz.^[5] This made the Prophet direct against him ẖais ibn-Hubairah-l-Makshûḥ al-Murâdi (called al-Makshûḥ because he was cauterized on his side on account of a disease) instructing him to win over to his side al-Abnâ’. With al-Makshûḥ, the Prophet sent Farwah ibn-Musaik al-Murâdi. No sooner had they arrived at al-Yaman, than the news of the death of the Prophet reached them. ẖais left on al-

Aswad the impression that he concurred with his opinion, and so he got his consent to enter Şan‘â’. Accordingly, Ẹais entered Şan‘â’ with a group of men including among others men of [the clan of] Madhĥij and some from Hamdân. He then won over to his side one of al-Abnâ’, Fairûz ibn-ad-Dailami, who had accepted Islâm. Ẹais and Fairûz then brought the chief of al-Abnâ’ (whose name according to some was Bâdhâm, and according to others, Bâdhâm was dead by this time and his successor was one Dâdhawaih.^[6] The latter view is more authentic). Dâdhawaih accepted Islâm.

Al-Aswad slain. Ẹais met Thât ibn-dhi-l-Ĥirrah^[7]-l-Ĥimyari and won him over to his side. Many missionaries were sent by Dâdhawaih among al-Abnâ’ who accepted Islâm and conspired to take al-Aswad unawares and slay him. They plotted with his wife who hated him, and she pointed out a gutter leading to his place. Through this they entered before daybreak. Some say they dug a hole through the wall of his house, through a crack,^[8] and found him sleeping under the influence of drink. Ẹais slew him and he began to bellow like a bull, so much so that his guard scared by the noise asked, "What is the matter with Raĥmân al-Yaman?" "The inspiration," answered his wife, "is upon him." Thus they were quieted. Ẹais severed his head, and, early in the morning, climbed the city wall and shouted, "Allah is great! Allah is great! I testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muĥammad is the Prophet of Allah, and that al-Aswad, the false Prophet, is the enemy of Allah!" As the followers of al-Aswad gathered, Ẹais cast the head to them and they dispersed with the exception of a few. At this the men of Ẹais opened the door and put the rest of the followers of al-‘Ansi to the sword, and none escaped except those who accepted Islâm.

According to some reports, however, it was Fairûz ibn-ad-Dailami who killed al-Aswad, Ẹais only giving the last stroke and severing his head. Certain scholars assert that the death of Ẹais took place five days before the expiration of the Prophet, who on his death-bed said: "Allah has brought about the death of al-Aswad al-‘Ansi through the righteous man Fairûz ibn-ad-Dailami," and that the news of the conquest came to abu-Bakr ten days after he had been proclaimed caliph.

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from an-Nu‘mân ibn-Burzuĥ, one of al-Abnâ’:—The Prophet's ‘âmil, whom al-Aswad drove out of Şan‘â’, was Abân ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Âşî; and the one who killed al-Aswad was Fairûz ibn-ad-Dailami.^[9] When both Ẹais and Fairûz at al-Madînah claimed having killed him, ‘Umar pointed to Fairuz saying, "It was this lion who killed him!"

Ẹais suspected of the murder of Dâdhawaih. Ẹais was charged with having killed Dâdhawaih, and abu-Bakr received the information that he was intent on expelling al-Abnâ’ from Şan‘â’. Abu-Bakr's anger was thereby aroused, and he wrote to al-Muĥâĥir ibn-abi-Umaiĥah at his entry to Şan‘â’ as abu-Bakr's ‘âmil, instructing him to bring Ẹais before him. When Ẹais was brought before abu-Bakr, he was requested by him to swear fifty oaths near the Prophet's pulpit that he did not kill Dâdhawaih. This he did, and was consequently set free by abu-Bakr, who directed him to Syria with those of the Moslems summoned for the invasion of the Greeks.^[10]

Footnotes

1. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 86.
2. Hishâm, p. 200, line 3.

3. Mas'ûdi, *at-Tanbîh*, pp. 276–277.
4. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 173.
5. "Barwîz" in Caetani, vol. iv, p. 490.
6. "Dâdhûwaih " in Nawâwi, p. 232.
7. Ḥajar, vol. i, p. 345: "Bâb ibn-dhi-l-Jirrah".
8. Caetani, vol. ii, p. 683; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1865; Fida, vol. i, p. 155; Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 173.
9. Mirkhondi, *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafa*, vol. ii, p. 679.
10. Ar. *ar-Rûm* = the East Romans, the Byzantines.

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PART II

SYRIA

CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA

The "tying of the three banners." When abu-Bakr was done with the case of those who apostatized, he saw fit^[1] to direct his troops against Syria. To this effect he wrote to the people of Makkah, at-Tâ'if, al-Yaman, and all the Arabs in Najd and al-Hijâz calling them for a "holy war" and arousing their desire in it and in the obtainable booty from the Greeks. Accordingly, people, including those actuated by greed as well as those actuated by the hope of divine remuneration, hastened to abu-Bakr from all quarters, and flocked to al-Madînah. Abu-Bakr gave three banners^[2] to three men [appointed them commanders] namely: Khâlîd ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-Âsî ibn-Umayyah, Shuraḥbîl ibn-Ḥasanah, an ally of the banu-Jumah and 'Amr ibn-al-Âsî ibn-Wâ'il as-Sahmi. (Shuraḥbîl, according to al-Wâkidi, was the son of 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Muṭâ' al-Kindi, Ḥasanah being his mother and a freedmaid of Ma'mar ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-Wahb ibn-Ḥudhâfah ibn-Jumah. But according to al-Kalbi, Shuraḥbîl was the son of Rabî'ah ibn-al-Muṭâ' descended from Ṣûfah, i. e., al-Ghauth ibn-Murr ibn-Udd ibn-Ṭâbikhah.)^[3] The tying of these banners took place on Thursday the first of Ṣafar, year 13, after the troops had camped at al-Jurf throughout the month of Muḥarram with abu-'Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ leading their prayers. Abu-Bakr wanted to give a banner to abu-'Ubaidah; but the latter begged to be relieved. Others claim that he did give one to him, but that report is not confirmed. The fact is that when 'Umar became caliph, he conferred on him the governorship of all Syria.

Abu-'Ubaidah commander-in-chief. Abu-Mikhnaf states that 'Umar said to the commanders, "If ye altogether are to lead a fight, your commander will be abu-'Ubaidah 'Âmir ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-al-Jarrâḥ al-Fihri, otherwise Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân."^[4] Others assert that 'Amr ibn-al-Âsî acted only as a reinforcement for the Moslems and commanded only those who joined him.

Abu-Bakr replaces Khâlîd by Arwa. The assignment of Khâlîd ibn-Sa'îd by abu-Bakr to the leadership displeased 'Umar who approached abu-Bakr with a view to dismissing him, charging him with being "a vain-seeking man who tries to make his way through dispute and bigotry."^[5] Accordingly abu-Bakr dismissed Khâlîd and directed abu-Arwa ad-Dausi to take the banner from his hand. Abu-Arwa met him at dhu-l-Marwah where he received the banner from him and carried it back to abu-Bakr. Abu-Bakr handed it to Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân^[6] who left, with his brother Mu'âwiyah carrying the banner before him. Others say that the banner was delivered to Yazîd at dhu-l-Marwah whence he started at the head of Khâlîd's army. Khâlîd went with the army of Shuraḥbîl for the divine remuneration.^[7]

Abu-Bakr gives instructions to the commanders. Abu-Bakr instructed 'Amr ibn-al-Âsî to follow the way of Ailah with Palestine^[8] for objective. Yazîd he instructed to follow the way of Tabûk. To Shuraḥbîl, he wrote to follow the way of Tabûk, too. At the outset each one of the commanders had three thousand men under his leadership, but abu-Bakr kept on sending reinforcements until each one had 7,500. Later the total was increased to 24,000.

It is reported on the authority of al-Wâḳidi that abu-Bakr assigned ʿAmr to Palestine, Shuraḥbîl to the Jordan, and Yazîd to Damascus saying, "When ye all fight together, your commander is the one in whose province ye are fighting." It is also reported that to ʿAmr he gave oral instructions to lead the prayers in case the armies are united, and to have each commander lead the prayer of his own army when the armies are separate. Abu-Bakr ordered the commanders to see that each tribe flies a banner of its own.

Abu-Bakr directs Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd to Syria. On his arrival in the first district of Palestine, ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿÂṣi sent a message to abu-Bakr informing him of the great number of the enemy, their great armament, the wide extent of their land and the enthusiasm of their troops. Abu-Bakr, thereupon, wrote to Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmi—who was at that time in al-ʿIrâq—directing him to go to Syria. According to some, he thereby made him a commander over the commanders in the war. According to others, Khâlid only commanded his men who accompanied him; but whenever the Moslems met for a battle, the commanders would choose him as their chief for his valor and strategy and the auspiciousness of his counsel.

The battle of Dâthin. The first conflict between the Moslems and the enemy took place in Dâthin,^[9] one of the villages of Ghazzah, which lay on the way between the Moslems and the residence of the patrician^[10] of Ghazzah. Here the battle raged furiously, but at last Allah gave victory to his friends and defeat to his enemies whom he dispersed. All this took place before the arrival of Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd in Syria.

The battle of al-ʿArabah. Thence Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân went in quest of the partrician, but hearing that a large host of Greeks were gathered in al-ʿArabah, which lay in Palestine, he directed against them abu-Umâmah aṣ-Ṣudai ibn-ʿAjlân al-Bâhili, who, falling upon them, put most of them to the sword and went his way. Regarding this battle of al-ʿArabah, abu-Mikhnaf reports that six of the Greek leaders at the head of 3,000 men camped at al-ʿArabah when abu-Umamah with a body of Moslems advanced against them and defeated them, killing one of their leaders. Thence he pursued them to ad-Dubbiyah (i. e. ad-Dâbiyah)^[11] where he inflicted another defeat on them, and the Moslems carried off a large booty.

According to a tradition communicated by abu-Ḥafṣ ash-Shâmi on the authority of certain *sheikhs* from Syria, the first conflict of the Moslems was the Battle of al-ʿArabah before which no fighting at all took place since they left al-Ḥijâz. In no place between al-Ḥijâz and al-ʿArabah did they pass without establishing their authority and taking possession of it without resistance.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Yaʿḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 149.
2. Zaidân, vol. i, pp. 135–136.
3. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2079.
4. Abu-Ismâʿil al-Baṣri, *Futûh ash-Shâm*, p. 5; Ḥajar, vol. iii, pp. 1352–1353.
5. *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 62, note 1; Yaʿḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 149.
6. Masʿûdi, vol. iv, pp. 186–187.
7. As a volunteer.

8. Ar. *Philasṭīn*. For a description of these provinces see al-Yaʿkûbi *Kitâb al-Buldân*, p. 325 seq.; Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 913.
9. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2108: "ad-Dâthinah, and some say ad-Dâthin"; cf. Caetani, vol. ii, pp. 1138–1139.
10. A leader of an army, from the Latin "*patricius*".
11. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 31.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 2

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CHAPTER II

THE ADVANCE OF KHÂLID IBN-AL-WALÎD ON SYRIA AND THE PLACES HE REDUCED ON HIS WAY

Khâlid takes 'Ain at-Tamr and Sandaudâ' by force. When Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd received abu-Bakr's letter at al-Hîrah, he left in his place al-Muthanna ibn-Hârithah ash-Shaibânî over the district of al-Kûfah, and set out at the head of 800 men in Rabî' II, year 13. (Some give 600 and others 500 as the number of men.) On his way, he passed through 'Ain at-Tamr and reduced it by force. (According to others, he received abu-Bakr's message in 'Ain at-Tamr after having subdued it.) From 'Ain at-Tamr Khalid made his way to Sandaudâ^[1] in which lived some of the Kindah and Iyâd tribes and non-Arabs.^[2] These people fought against him; but Khâlid won the victory and left in the city Sa'd ibn-'Amr ibn-Harâm al-Anṣârî whose descendants still live in it. Khâlid, having learnt that a body of the banu-Taghlib ibn-Wâ'il at al-Muḍaiyah and al-Huṣaid had apostatized and were led by Rabî'ah ibn-Bujair, made his way to them. They fought against him; but he put them to flight and took captives and booty. The captives he sent to abu-Bakr, and among them was umm-Ḥabîb aṣ-Ṣahbâ', daughter of Ḥabîb ibn-Bujair, and [later] the mother of 'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭâlib.

Khâlid crosses the desert to Suwa. Then Khâlid made an incursion on Ḳurâkir which was a spring belonging to the Kalb tribe, and thence crossed the desert to Suwa^[3] which was also a spring held conjointly by the Kalb and some men of the Bahrâ'. Here Khâlid killed Ḥurkûs ibn-an-Nu'mân al-Bahrâni of the Ḳudâ'ah tribe and swept off all their possessions. When Khâlid wanted to cross the desert, he gave the camels all the water they could drink and then thrust into the camels' lips spears, which he left for them to drag,^[4] lest they should ruminate and get thirsty again. The quantity of water he carried along, though big, was exhausted on the way. So Khâlid had to slay the camels one after the other and drink with his men the water from their bellies. Khâlid had a guide named Râfi' ibn-'Umair aṭ-Ṭâ'i whom the poet meant when he said:

"How wonderful has Râfi' been,
who succeeded in finding the way from Ḳurâkir to Suwa,
to the water from which the coward who attempts to reach it returns before attaining
it.
No human being before thee ever did that!"

When the Moslems arrived in Suwa they found Ḥurkûṣ and a band of men drinking and singing. Ḥurkûṣ himself was saying:

"Again give me to drink before abu-Bakr's army is on,
our death may be at hand while we are unaware."^[5]

As the Moslems killed him, his blood flowed into the basin from which he had been drinking; and some report that his head, too, fell therein. It is claimed by others,^[6] however, that the one who sang this verse was one of those of the banu-Taghlib whom Khalid had attacked with Rabî'ah ibn-Bujair.

Khâlid in Karḳisiya. According to al-Wâḳidi, Khâlid started from Suwa to al-Kawâthil thence to Karḳisiya whose chief met him with a large host. Khâlid left him alone, turned to the mainland and went his way.

Arakah makes terms. Another place to which Khâlid came was Arakah^[7] (i. e. Arak) whose people he attacked and besieged. The city surrendered and made terms, offering a certain sum for the Moslems.

Dûmat al-Jandal, Kuṣam, Tadmur and al-Ḳaryatain taken. Dûmat al-Jandal^[8] he then reached and conquered. Then he came to Kuṣam in which the banu-Mashja'ah ibn-at-Taim ibn-an-Namir ibn-Wabarah ibn-Taghlib ibn-Ḥulwân ibn-Imrân ibn-al-Ḥâfi ibn-Ḳudâ'ah came to terms with him. Khâlid wrote them a promise of security and advanced to Tadmur^[9] [Palmyra]. Tadmur's inhabitants held out against him and took to their fortifications. At last they sought to surrender and he wrote them a statement guaranteeing their safety on condition that they be considered *dhimmah* people,^[10] that they entertain Moslems and that they submit to them. Khâlid then pushed to al-Ḳaryatain, whose people resisted him but were defeated, losing a large booty.

Ḥûwârîn reduced. Khâlid proceeded to Ḥûwârîn^[11] in Sanîr and made a raid on its cattle. Its inhabitants, having been reinforced by the inhabitants of Ba'labakk and of Buṣra (the capital of Ḥaurân) stood out against him. The victory was won by Khâlid who took some as captives and killed others.

Ghassân attacked. Thence he came to Marj Râhiṭ and led an incursion against Ghassân on their Easter day—they being Christians. He took some captive and killed others.

Thanîyat al-'Uḳâb. Khâlid then directed Busr ibn-abi-Artât al-Âmiri of the Ḳuraish and Ḥabîb ibn-Maslamah-l-Fihri to the Ghûṭah^[12] of Damascus where they attacked many villages. Khâlid arrived at Thanîyat in Damascus, the Thaniyat al-'Uḳâb of to-day, and stood there for one hour, spreading his banner. This banner was the one the Prophet used, and was black in color; and because the Arabs call a banner "uḳâb," the Thanîyat was known since as Thanîyat al-'Uḳâb. Others say that it was thus called because a vulture [Ar. 'uḳâb] happened to descend on it at that time. But the first explanation is more reliable. I heard it said by some that at that place stood a stone image of a vulture. But there is no truth in that statement.

Khâlid meets abu-‘Ubaidah. Khâlid camped at the East [Sharḳi] gate of Damascus; and according to others, at the Jâbiyah gate. The bishop of Damascus offered him gifts and homage and said to Khâlid, "Keep this covenant^[13] for me." Khâlid promised to do so. Then Khâlid went until he met the Moslems who were at ẖanât Buṣra. According to others, however, he came to the Jâbiyah where abu-‘Ubaidah was with a band of Moslems. Here they met and went together to Buṣra.

Footnotes

1. Baṣri, p. 59: "Sandawa"; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2109.
2. Ar. *‘Ajam*; see *Muh. Stud.*, p. 101 seq.
3. Baṣri, p. 63: "Shuwa".
4. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2123: "He muzzled their mouths", and so Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 257; Caetani, vol. ii, p. 1106.
5. Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2124; *Mémoire*, p. 46 ; Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 25.
6. Baṣri, p. 62 seq.
7. Baṣri, p. 67; Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2109; Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 21..
8. Balâdhuri, part I, chap. XIII.
9. Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 540–542.
10. Christians, Jews and Sabians with whom a covenant has been made, who pay a poll tax and for whose security Moslems are responsible.
11. Baṣri, p. 68.
12. A place in Damascus noted for its orchards; ibn-Jubair, *Rihlah*, p. 261; Le Strange, p. 33.
13. What covenant is meant is not clear. This tradition may have been confused with one that comes later and speaks of the agreement between Khâlid and the bishop. Cf. Caetani, vol. ii, pp. 1204–1205.

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CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF BUŞRA

Buşra comes to terms. When Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd at the head of the Moslems arrived in Buşra,^[1] all the Moslems gathered against it and put Khâlid in chief command. They drew close to it and fought its patrician until he was driven with his armed men inside the town. Others assert that since Buşra lay within the district of Damascus and, consequently under the rule and commandership of Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân, it was he who held the chief command. At last its people came to terms stipulating that their lives, property and children be safe, and agreeing to pay the poll-tax. According to some reporters, the inhabitants of Buşra made terms agreeing to pay for each adult one *dînâr* and one *jarîb*^[2] of wheat.

Thus the Moslems conquered all the region of Ḥaurân [Auranitis] and subdued it.

Ma'âb surrenders. Abu-'Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ, at the head of a heavy detachment composed of the commanders' troops that had joined him, led the way to Ma'âb [Moab] in the district of al-Balkâ' where the enemy was massed. Ma'âb surrendered and made terms similar to those made by Buşra. According to others, however, the conquest of Ma'âb was effected before that of Buşra. Still others assert that abu-'Ubaidah conquered Ma'âb when he was the commander of all the Moslem forces in Syria in the days of 'Umar.

Footnotes

1. Eski-Shâm or Old Damascus; *Baedeker, Palestine and Syria*, p. 201 (ed. 1894).
2. Mawardi, p. 265, says that *al-jarîb* is a measure of land 10 × 10 rods. It is also a measure of wheat that varies in different localities.

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CHAPTER IV

THE BATTLE OF AJNÂDÎN (OR AJNÂDAİN)

The enemy routed. The battle of Ajnâdîn^[1] ensued. In this battle about 100,000 Greeks took part, the majority of whom were massed one band after the other by Heraclius [Hirakl], the rest having come from the neighboring districts. On that day, Heraclius was in Ĥimş [Emesa]. Against this army, the Moslems fought a violent battle, and Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd particularly distinguished himself. At last, by Allah's help, the enemies of Allah were routed and shattered into pieces, a great many being slaughtered.

The martyrs. Those who suffered martyrdom on that day were 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-Hâshim, 'Amr ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Umaiyah, his brother Abân ibn-Sa'îd (according to the most authentic report. Others, however, claim that Abân died in the year 29), Ṭulaib ibn-'Umair ibn-Wahb ibn-'Abd ibn-Ḳuṣai (who fought a duel with an "unbeliever" who gave him a blow that severed his right hand making his sword fall down with the palm. In this condition he was surrounded and killed by the Greeks. His mother Arwa, daughter of 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, was the Prophet's aunt. His surname was abu-'Adi), and Salamah ibn-Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah. According to others, Salamah was killed at Marj aş-Şuffar. Other martyrs were: 'Ikrimah ibn-abi-Jahl ibn-Hishâm al-Makhzûmi, Habbâr ibn-Sufyân ibn-'Abd-al-Asad al-Makhzûmi (who, according to others, was killed in the battle of Mu'tah), Nu'aim ibn-'Abdallâh an-Naḥḥâm al-'Adawi (who, according to others, was killed in the battle of al-Yarmûk), Hishûm ibn-al-'Âṣi ibn-Wâ'il as-Sahmi (who is also supposed by others to have been slain in the battle of al-Yarmûk), Jundub ibn-'Amr ad-Dausi, Sa'îd ibn-al-Ĥârith, al-Ĥârith ibn-al-Ĥârith, and al-Ĥajjâj ibn-al-Ĥârith ibn-Ḳais ibn-'Adi as-Sahmi. According to Hishâm ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi, an-Naḥḥâm was killed in the battle of Mu'tah.

Sa'îd ibn-al-Ĥârith ibn-Ḳais was slain in the battle of al-Yarmûk; Tamîm ibn-al-Ĥârith, in the battle of Ajnâdîn; his brother, 'Ubaidallâh ibn 'Abd-al-Asad, in al-Yarmûk; and al-Ĥârith ibn-Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah, in Ajnâdîn.

Heraclius flees to Antioch. When the news of this battle came to Heraclius, his heart was filled with cowardice and he was confounded. Consequently, he took to flight to Antioch [Anṭâkiyah] from Ĥimş [Emesa]. It was mentioned by someone that his flight from Ĥimş to Antioch coincided with the advance of the Moslems to Syria. This battle of Ajnâdîn took place on Monday twelve days before the end of Jumâda I, year 13. Some, however, say two days after the beginning of Jumâda II, and others two days before its end.

After that, the Greeks massed an army at Yâķûşah which was a valley with al-Fauwârah at its mouth. There the Moslems met them, dispelled them and put them to flight with a great slaughter. Their remnants fled to the cities of Syria. The death of abu-Bakr took place in Jumâda II, year 13, and the Moslems received the news in al-Yâķûşah.^[2]

Footnotes

1. *Mémoire*, p. 50 seq.; *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 54.
2. *Mémoire*, p. 64.

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CHAPTER V

THE BATTLE OF FIHL IN THE PROVINCE OF THE JORDAN

Abu-ʿUbaidah commander-in-chief. The battle of Fihl^[1] in the province of the Jordan was fought two days before the end of dhu-l-Ḳaʿdah and five months after the proclamation of ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb as caliph. The commander-in-chief was abu-ʿUbaidah ibn-al-Jarrāḥ, to whom ʿUmar had sent a letter with ʿĀmir ibn-abi-Waḳḳās, a brother of Saʿd ibn-abi-Waḳḳās, conferring on him the governorship of Syria and the chief command.^[2]

Some say that the appointment of abu-ʿUbaidah to the governorship of Syria was received when Damascus was under siege. Khâlid being the chief commander in time of war, abu-ʿUbaidah concealed the appointment from him for many days.^[3] When asked by Khâlid for the reason, abu-ʿUbaidah said, "I hated to dishearten thee and weaken thy position as thou stoodst facing an enemy."

Terms made after the victory. The way this battle came about was that when Heraclius came to Antioch he summoned the Greeks and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia to go forth to war, putting them under the command of one of his men in whom he trusted. These met the Moslems at Fihl in the province of the Jordan and a most fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended, by Allah's help, in the victory of the Moslems. The Greek patrician with about 10,000 men was slaughtered, and the rest of the army distributed themselves in the cities of Syria, some of them joining Heraclius. The inhabitants of Fihl took to the fortifications where they were besieged by the Moslems until they sought to surrender, agreeing to pay tax on their heads and *kharāj* on their lands. The Moslems promised them the security of life and property, agreeing not to demolish their walls. The contract was made by abu-ʿUbaidah ibn-al-Jarrāḥ, but according to others, by Shuraḥbīl ibn-Ḥasanah.

Footnotes

1. Faḥl or Fihl, ancient Pella; *Mémoire*, p. 73.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
3. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2146 and 2147.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PROVINCE OF THE JORDAN

Tiberias makes terms. Ḥafṣ ibn-ʿUmar al-ʿUmari from al-Haitham ibn-ʿAdi:—Shuraḥbîl conquered all the province of the Jordan [al-Urdunn] by force, with the exception of Tiberias, whose inhabitants came to terms, agreeing to give up one-half of their homes and churches.^[1]

ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣi and then abu-ʿUbaidah in chief command. Abu-Ḥafṣ ad-Dimashki from abu-Bishr—the *muezzin* of the mosque at Damascus—and others:—When the Moslems arrived in Damascus, each commander used to direct his forces to a special region which he would make the object of his incursions. Thus ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣi used to go against Palestine, Shuraḥbîl against the Jordan province and Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân against the province of Damascus. In case the enemy was massed in one group, they would all combine against him, each [commander] hastening to the support and the reinforcement of the other. In the early days of abu-Bakr, when they would join forces, the commander-in-chief would be ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣi. This was the case until the arrival of Khâlîd ibn-al-Walîd, who became the commander of the Moslems in every battle. Abu-ʿUbaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ later assumed the chief command in the whole of Syria, and the commanders acknowledged him as their chief for war and peace in behalf of ʿUmar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb. This was brought about when ʿUmar was proclaimed caliph and wrote to Khâlîd dismissing him and assigning abu-ʿUbaidah.

Shuraḥbîl and then ʿAmr seizes Tiberias. Shuraḥbîl ibn-Ḥasanah took Tiberias [Ṭabaraiyah] by capitulation after a siege of some days. He guaranteed for the inhabitants the safety of their lives, possessions, children, churches and houses with the exception of what they should evacuate and desert, setting aside a special spot for a Moslem mosque. Later, in the caliphate of ʿUmar, the people of Tiberias violated the covenant and were joined by many Greeks and others. Abu-ʿUbaidah ordered ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣi to attack them, so he marched against them at the head of 4,000 men. ʿAmr took the city by capitulation, the terms being similar to those of Shuraḥbîl. According to others, however, it was Shuraḥbîl also who conquered it the second time.

Shuraḥbîl subdues all the Jordan province. In addition to that, Shuraḥbîl took easy possession of all the cities of the Jordan with their fortifications, which, with no resistance, capitulated on terms similar to those of Tiberias. Thus did he take possession of Baisân, [Bethshean, Scythopolis] Sûsiyah, Afîk, Jarash, Bait-Râs, Ḳadas, and al-Jaulân, and subdue the district of the Jordan and all its land.

According to abu-Ḥafṣ on the authority of al-Waḍīn ibn-ʿAṭāʾ, Shuraḥbīl conquered Acre, Tyre and Ṣaffūriyah.

The sea-coasts reduced. It is stated by abu-Bishr, the *muezzin*, that abu-ʿUbaidah directed ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣi to the sea-coasts of the province of the Jordan. There the Greeks became too numerous for him being recruited by men from the district under Heraclius who was then at Constantinople. ʿAmr, therefore, wrote to abu-ʿUbaidah asking for reinforcements. The latter sent Yazīd ibn-abi-Sufyān who went forth, having his brother, Muʿāwiyah, in the van of the army. The littoral of the Jordan was conquered by Yazīd and ʿAmr to whom abu-ʿUbaidah wrote regarding its conquest. In that campaign Muʿāwiyah distinguished himself and left a great impression.

Muʿāwiyah transplants people. Abu-Alyasaʿ al-Anṭāki from certain *sheikhs* from Antioch and the Jordan:—A body of Persians were transplanted in the year 42 by Muʿāwiyah from Baʿlabakk, Ḥimṣ and Antioch to the sea-coasts of the Jordan, i. e., Tyre, Acre and other places; and he transplanted in the same year, or one year before or after, certain Asāwirah^[2] from al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah and certain Persians from Baʿlabakk and Ḥimṣ to Antioch. One of the Persian leaders was Muslim ibn-ʿAbdallāh, grandfather of ʿAbdallāh ibn-Ḥabīb ibn-an-Nuʿmān ibn-Muslim al-Anṭāki.

Muʿāwiyah makes repairs in Acre and Tyre. According to a tradition communicated to me by Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd on the authority of al-Wākidi, and by Hishām ibn-al-Laith aṣ-Ṣūri on the authority of certain *sheikhs* from Syria, when Muʿāwiyah came to sail from Acre to Cyprus he made repairs in Acre [ʿAkka] and in Tyre [Ṣūr]. Later both cities were rebuilt by ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān, after having fallen into ruins.

Hishām ibn-al-Laith from our *sheikhs* who said, "When we took up our abode in Tyre and the littoral, there were Arab troops and many Greeks already there. Later, people from other regions came and settled with us, and that was the case with all the sea-coast of Syria."

Artisans settled along the sea-coast. Muḥammad ibn-Sahm al-Anṭāki from contemporaneous *sheikhs*:—In the year 49 the Greeks left for the sea-coast. Industry at that time was confined to Egypt. Consequently, and in accordance with Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān's orders, certain artisans and carpenters were gathered and settled along the coast. As for the industry of the Jordan province it was all confined to Acre.

Hishām moves the industry to Tyre. Abu-l-Khaṭṭāb al-Azdi mentioned the case of a descendant of abu-Muʿāṭ who lived in Acre and ran mills and workshops. Hishām ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik wanted him to sell them to him; but the man refused. Hishām therefore moved the industry^[3] to Tyre where he ran an inn and a workshop.

Tyre a naval base. According to al-Wākidi, the ships used to be in Acre until the time of the banu-Marwān who moved them to Tyre, where they are until to-day.^[4] In the year 247, al-Mutawakkil gave orders that the ships be stationed in Acre and all along the coast, and he manned them with fighters.

Footnotes

1. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2159.

2. Persian armed cavalry.
3. Ar. *ṣinâʿah*; Yaʿqûbi, p. 327: "*dar aṣ-ṣinâʿah*" which means arsenal. The reference may be to the industry of making ships. Cf. Le Strange, p. 342 *seq.*
4. Ibn-Jubair, p. 305.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 7

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CHAPTER VII

THE BATTLE OF MARJ AŞ-ŞUFFAR

The "unbelievers" put to flight. The Greeks met in great numbers and were reinforced by Heraclius. The Moslems encountered them at Marj aş-Şuffar on their way to Damascus on the first of Muḥarram, year 14.^[1] The battle that ensued was so violent that blood flowed along with water and turned the wheels of the mill. Of the Moslems about 4,000 were wounded. At last the "unbelievers" took to flight and were dispersed, disregarding everything until they came to Damascus and Jerusalem. On that day, Khâlid ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi ibn-Umayyah (surnamed abu-Sa'îd) fell a martyr. In the evening previous to the day in the morning of which the battle was fought, he was married to umm-Ḥakîm, the daughter of al-Ḥârith ibn-Hishâm al-Makhzûmi, and the wife of ʿIkrimah ibn-abi-Jahl.^[2] Hearing the news of his death, umm-Ḥakîm pulled out the post of the tent and fought with it. On that day, according to some report, she killed seven and had her face still covered with the ointment perfumed with saffron^[3] [with which women anointed themselves on the first night of matrimony].

According to the report of abu-Mikhnaḥ, this battle of Marj took place twenty days after the battle of Ajnâdîn; the conquest of Damascus followed it, and after the conquest of Damascus the battle of Fihl took place. The report of al-Wâkidi, however, is more authentic.

It was regarding the battle of Marj that Khâlid ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi said:

"Isn't there a horseman who, tired of stabbing,
would lend me his lance for the battle of Marj aş-Şuffar?"

Referring to this battle, ʿAbdallâh ibn-Kâmil ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-ʿAmîrah ibn-Khufâf ibn-Amruʿi-l-Ḳais ibn-Buhthah ibn-Sulaim said:

"The tribes of Mâlik took part, but ʿAmîrah disappeared
from my sight in the battle of Marj aş-Şuffar,"

meaning Mâlik ibn-Khufâf.

The story of the Samsâmah sword. According to Hishâm ibn-Muḥammad al-Kalbi, in the battle of Marj, Khâlid ibn-Sa'îd suffered martyrdom with his sword aş-Şamsâmah hanging down from his neck. The Prophet had sent him as *ʿâmil* to al-Yaman, and on his way he passed by the kindred of ʿAmr ibn-Maʿdikaṛib az-Zubaidi of Madhḥij and attacked them, taking as captives the wife of ʿAmr and other kinsmen. ʿAmr proposed that Khâlid grants them their liberty and they would accept Islâm. And so it was. ʿAmr offered Khâlid his own sword, aş-Şamsâmah,^[4] saying:

"A friend whom I offered as present not because of any hatred
but because presents are for those of noble birth.
A friend whom I did not betray and who did not betray me,
and so my qualities and fellow-drinkers did not.
I bestowed it on a nobleman of ʿQuraish
who was pleased with it and by which he was protected against the evil men."

This sword Muʿâwiyah took from the neck of Khâlid when he fell martyr in the battle of Marj. Muʿâwiyah kept it, but its possession was later disputed by Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi ibn-Umaiyaḥ. ʿUthmân decided the case in favor of the latter, who kept it until the battle of ad-Dâr in which Marwân was struck on the nape of the neck and Sa'îd fell unconscious by a blow. A Juhainah man took the Şamsâmah. The Juhainah man kept it, and one day he gave it to a polisher to polish it. The polisher could not believe that one of the Juhainah could possess such a sword, so he took it to Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam, the governor of al-Madînah, who asked the Juhainah man for an explanation, and he told its story. "By Allah," exclaimed Marwân, "in the battle of ad-Dâr, my sword was stolen from me, and so was that of Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi." Then came Sa'îd and recognizing his sword took it, carved his name on it, and sent it to ʿAmr ibn-Sa'îd al-Ashdaq, the governor of Makkah. Sa'îd perished, and the sword was left with ʿAmr ibn-Sa'îd. When ʿAmr ibn-Sa'îd was killed at Damascus and his belongings were stolen, his brother on the father's side, Muḥammad ibn-Sa'îd, took the sword, which later passed to Yaḥya ibn-Sa'îd. At the death of Yaḥya, it passed to ʿAnbasah ibn-Sa'îd ibn-al-ʿÂṣi and then to Sa'îd ibn-ʿAmr ibn-Sa'îd. When the last perished, the sword went to Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-Sa'îd whose descendants live now in Bâriḳ. Then it went to Abân ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Sa'îd who decked it with an ornament of gold and kept it with the mother of a child [concubine] of his. At last Aiyûb ibn-abi-Aiyûb ibn-Sa'îd sold it to al-Mahdi the "Commander of the Believers" for over 80,000 [*dirhams*]. Al-Mahdi put the ornament of gold back on it. When it came finally into the possession of Mûsa-l-Hâdi, the "Commander of the Believers," he admired it and ordered the poet abu-l-Haul to describe it, upon which the latter said:

"He who acquired the Şamsâmah of ʿAmr az-Zubaidi
is the best of all men—Mûsa-l-Amîn.
It is the sword of ʿAmr which as we know,
is the best that a scabbard ever sheathed.

Green in color between the edges of which is a garment
 of poison in which death is clad.
 If one unsheathes it, its brilliancy dazzles
 that of the sun, so that the sun would scarcely be seen.
 When the one to be smitten is at hand,
 it does not matter whether the left or the right hand applies it.
 What a good sword it is for him, who wants to defend his honor,
 to smite with in the battle, and what a good companion!"^[5]

Later on, al-Wâthiq-Billâh, the "Commander of the Believers," called a polisher and ordered him to temper it. On doing so, the sword was changed.

Footnotes

1. *Mémoire*, pp. 79–80.
2. Ibn-Sa‘d, vol. iv¹, p. 71.
3. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 3169; *Aghâni*, vol. vi, pp. 6–7; Caetani, vol. iii, p. 322.
4. *Aghâni*, vol. xiv, pp. 27, 31, 32.
5. Cf. De Slane, ibn-Khallikân, vol. iii, p. 637.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 8

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CONQUEST OF DAMASCUS AND ITS PROVINCE

The positions taken by the different generals. When the Moslems were done with the fight against those who were gathered at al-Marj, they stayed there for fifteen days at the end of which they returned [*sic*] to Damascus [Dimashk]. This took place fourteen days before the end of Muḥarram, year 14. Al-Ghûṭah and its churches the Moslems took by force. The inhabitants of Damascus betook themselves to the fortifications and closed the gate of the city. Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd at the head of some 5,000 men whom abu-ʿUбайдah had put under his command, camped at al-Bâb ash-Sharḳî [the east gate]. Some assert that Khâlid was the chief commander but was dismissed when Damascus was under siege. The convent by which Khâlid camped was called Dair Khâlid.^[1] ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿÂṣî camped at the Tûma gate; Shurahbîl, at the Faradîs gate, abu-ʿUбайдah at the Jâbiyah gate, and Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân from the Şaghîr gate to the one known as Kaisân gate.^[2] Abu-ad-Dardâ' appointed ʿUwaimir ibn-ʿÂmir al-Khazraji commander of a frontier garrison settled in the fortification^[3] at Barzah.^[4]

The statement written by Khâlid. The bishop^[5] who had provided Khâlid with food at the beginning of the siege was wont to stand on the wall. Once Khâlid called him, and when he came, Khâlid greeted him and talked with him. The bishop one day said to him, "Abu-Sulaimân, thy case is prospering and thou hast a promise to fulfil for me; let us make terms for this city." Thereupon, Khâlid called for an inkhorn and parchment and wrote:—

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Khâlid would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus, if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city-wall shall not be demolished; neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of his Prophet, the caliphs and the 'Believers'. So long as they pay the poll-tax, nothing but good shall befall them."

The Moslems enter the city. One night, a friend of the bishop came to Khâlid and informed him of the fact that it was the night of a feast^[6] for the inhabitants of the city, that they were all busy and that they had blocked the Sharḳî gate with stones and left it unguarded. He then suggested that Khâlid should procure a ladder. Certain occupants of the convent, by which Khâlid's army camped, brought him two ladders on which some

Moslems climbed to the highest part of the wall, and descended to the gate which was guarded only by one or two men. The Moslems co-operated and opened the door. This took place at sunrise.

In the meantime, abu-ʿUbaidah had managed to open the Jâbiyah gate and sent certain Moslems over its wall. This made the Greek fighters pour to his side and lead a violent fight against the Moslems. At last, however, the Greeks took to flight. Then abu-ʿUbaidah at the head of the Moslems opened the Jâbiyah gate by force and made their entrance through it. Abu-ʿUbaidah and Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd met at al-Maḡsalât which was the quarter of the coppersmiths in Damascus. The same spot is mentioned in a poem by Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit under the name of al-Bariṣ:

"He who calls at al-Bariṣ for a drink,
[is given the water of Barada mixed with dainty wine]."^[7]

According to other reports, one night the Greeks carried out through the Jâbiyah gate a corpse. A number of their brave and armed men accompanied the funeral. The rest of them stood at the gate to prevent the Moslems from opening it and entering until their Greek comrades should have returned from the burial of the dead man, thus taking advantage of the Moslems' state of unmindfulness. But the Moslems knew of them and fought with them at the gate a most fierce and bloody conflict which ended in the opening of the gate by the Moslems at sunrise. Seeing that abu-ʿUbaidah was on the point of entering the city, the bishop hurried to Khâlid and capitulated. He then opened the Sharkî gate and entered with Khâlid, with the statement which Khâlid had written him unfolded in his hand. Regarding that, certain Moslems remarked, "By Allah, Khâlid is not the commander. How could his terms then be binding?" To this, abu-ʿUbaidah replied, "Even the lowest of the Moslems can make binding terms on their behalf." And sanctioning the capitulation made by Khâlid, he signed it, not taking into account the fact that a part of the city was taken by force.^[8] Thus all Damascus was considered as having capitulated. Abu-ʿUbaidah wrote to ʿUmar regarding that and forwarded the message. Then the gates of the city were opened and all the Moslems met within.

According to the report of abu-Mikhnaf and others, Khâlid entered the city by assault, whereas abu-ʿUbaidah entered it by capitulation, and they both met at the Zaiyâtîn [market of oil-dealers]. The former report however, is more authentic.

Al-Haitham ibn-ʿAdi claimed that the people of Damascus capitulated agreeing to give up one-half of their homes and churches. Muhammad ibn-Saʿd reported that abu-ʿAbdallâh al-Wâḡidi said, "I have read the statement issued by Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd to the people of Damascus and found no mention in it of 'half the homes and churches'. I do not know where the one who reported it got his information. The fact is that when Damascus was taken possession of, a great number of its inhabitants fled to Heraclius who was then at Antioch, leaving many vacant dwellings behind that were later occupied by the Moslems."

Some one reported that it was abu-ʿUbaidah who had his quarters at the Sharkî gate, and Khâlid at the Jâbiyah gate; but this view is erroneous.

The date of the conquest. According to al-Wâkidi, the conquest of Damascus was effected in Rajab, year 14,^[9] but the date which Khâlid's statement of capitulation bears was Rabî' II, year 15. The explanation is that Khâlid wrote the statement with no date, but when the Moslems were preparing to set out against those gathered for their fight in al-Yarmûk, the bishop came to Khâlid asking him to renew the statement and add as witnesses abu-'Ubaidah and the Moslems. Khâlid granted the request and inserted the names of abu-'Ubaidah, Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân, Shurahbîl ibn-Hasanah and others as witnesses. The date he put was the one in which the statement was renewed.

The city considered as having capitulated. Al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm from Sa'îd ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz at-Tanûkhi:—Yazîd entered Damascus by capitulation through the Sharkî gate. At al-Maḡsalât the two Moslem commanders met, and the whole city was considered as having capitulated.

The siege conducted for four months. Al-Kâsim from abu-l-Ash'ath aṣ-Ṣan'âni or abu-'Uthmân aṣ-Ṣan'âni:—Abu-'Ubaidah spent at the Jâbiyah gate four months^[10] conducting the siege.

The case of a church. Abu-'Ubaid from Rajâ' ibn-abi-Salamah:—Ḥassân ibn-Mâlik presented to 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz the case of a church that one of the commanders had bestowed on him as fief, and the possession of which was contested by the non-Arabs of Damascus. Regarding that, 'Umar said, "If it is included in the fifteen churches mentioned in their covenant, thou hast no claim on it."

The following was stated by Ḍamrah on the authority of 'Ali ibn-abi-Ḥamalah, "The non-Arabs of Damascus disputed with us the right to a church at Damascus that was assigned by someone as fief to the banu-Naṣr, and the case was presented to 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz who took the church from us and returned it to the Christians. When Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, however, came to power he gave it back to the banu-Naṣr."

The poll-tax. Abu-'Ubaid from al-Auzâ'i who said:—"At the outset, the poll-tax in Syria consisted of one *jarîb* and one *dînâr* per head. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb made it four *dînârs* on those who had gold and forty *dirhams* on those who had silver, arranging them in ranks according to the wealth of the rich, the poverty of the poor and the medium possessions of the middle class."

Hishâm heard it said by our *sheikhs* that the Jews were for the Christians as *dhimmis* paying *kharâj* to them, and were, therefore, included in the capitulation.

According to certain reports, one of the terms imposed by Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd on the inhabitants of Damascus, when they capitulated, was that every man should give as poll-tax one *dînâr* and one *jarîb* of wheat, together with vinegar and oil for feeding the Moslems.

'Amr an-Nâkid from Aslam, the freedman of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb:—'Umar wrote to the commanders of the provinces of Syria [Ar. *ajnâd*] instructing them to levy a tax on every adult, making it forty *dirhams* on those who possessed silver, and four *dînârs* on those who possessed gold. Moreover, he ordered that in the way of providing the Moslems with wheat and oil, they have to give every Moslem in Syria and Mesopotamia [Ar. al-Jazîrah] two *modîi*^[11] of wheat and three *kisṭs*^[11] of oil per month. He also assessed on them

grease and honey, the quantity of which I do not know; and for every Moslem in Egypt per month one *irdabb*^[11] [of wheat], clothing, and the right of being entertained as guest for three days.

‘Amr ibn-Ḥammâd ibn-abi-Ḥanîfah from Aslam:—‘Umar assessed as poll-tax four *dînârs* on those who possessed gold, and forty *dirhams* on those who possessed silver, in addition to offering the Moslems a subsistence tribute and providing them with three-days' entertainment.

A similar tradition was communicated to me by Muṣ‘ab on the authority of Aslam.

The cathedral of St. John. It is reported that when Mu‘âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân came to power, he desired to add the church of St. John to the mosque^[12] in Damascus; but the Christians refused. So he refrained. Later, when ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was in power, he made the same request for the enlargement of the mosque offering them money in exchange; but they refused to deliver the church to him. In his turn, al-Walîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik called the Christians and offered them large sums for the church, and when they refused, he threatened them saying, "If ye do not agree, I will surely tear it down." To this someone replied, "He, 'Commander of the Believers', who tears down a church will lose his wits and be affected with some blight." Al-Walîd, being angered at what was said, ordered that a spade be brought and began demolishing the walls with his own hand, while he had a robe of yellow silk on him. He then called workmen and house-razers and they pulled the church down. Thus it was included in the mosque. When ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz became caliph, the Christians complained of what al-Walîd had done for their church. ‘Umar wrote to his *‘âmil* ordering him to return to the Christians that part which he had added to the mosque from their church. The people of Damascus disliked the idea saying, "Shall we destroy our mosque after we have called to prayer and held service in it? And can a Christian church be returned [to its former owners]?" Among the Moslems were at that time Sulaimân ibn-Ḥabîb al-Muḥâribi and other canonists. They then came to the Christians and proposed to turn over to them all the churches of al-Ghûṭah that had been taken by force and were in the hands of the Moslems, provided they give up the church of St. John and cease to assert their claim on it. The Christians rather seemed to favor the proposition and consented to it. ‘Umar's *‘âmil* communicated the news to ‘Umar who was pleased and signed the agreement. Next to the tower of the Mosque of Damascus at the southern porch stands an inscription on marble near the roof which was part of that which was built by the order of al-Walîd the "Commander of the Believers" in the year 86.

The wall of Damascus. I myself heard Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr say, "The wall around the city of Damascus remained standing until it was demolished by ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Ali ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-al-‘Abbâs after the question between Marwân and the banu-Umayyah had been settled."

Busra, Adhri‘ât, al-Bathanîyah and other places reduced. Abu-Ḥafṣ ad-Dimashkî from the *muezzin* of the Damascus Mosque and other men:—At the arrival of Khâlid, the Moslems gathered their forces against Busra, and it capitulated. They then were dispersed throughout all Ḥaurân which they subdued. The chief of Adhri‘ât came to them offering to capitulate on the same terms on which the people of Busra had capitulated and agreeing to make all the land of al-Bathanîyah^[13] a *kharâj* land. The request was granted, and Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân entered the city and made a covenant with its people. Thus the two districts of Ḥaurân and al-Bathanîyah came under the full control of the Moslems. Thence they came to Palestine and the Jordan, invading what

had not yet been reduced. Yazîd marched against ‘Âmmân and made an easy conquest of it, making terms of capitulation similar to those of Busra. Besides, he effected the complete conquest of the province of al-Balkâ’. When abu-‘Ubaidah came to power, all that was already conquered. At the conquest of Damascus, abu-‘Ubaidah was the commander-in-chief; but the terms of capitulation were made by Khâlid, abu-‘Ubaidah concurring.

‘Arandal, ash-Sharât and the sea-coast reduced. During the governorship of abu-‘Ubaidah, Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân went and took possession of ‘Arandal^[14] by capitulation. He also subdued the province of ash-Sharât with its mountains. It is stated by Sa‘îd ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz on the authority of al-Waḍîn that after the [second] conquest of Damascus Yazîd came to Sidon, ‘Irḳah,^[15] Jubail, and Bierût (which lie on the sea-coast)^[16] with his brother, Mu‘âwiyah, leading the van of the army. These cities he conquered with great facility, expelling many of their inhabitants. The conquest of ‘Irḳah was effected by Mu‘âwiyah himself when Yazîd was governor. Toward the close of the caliphate of ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb or the beginning of the caliphate of ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân, the Greeks restored some of these coast-towns, and Mu‘âwiyah again marched against those towns and conquered them. He then made repairs in them and stationed garrisons in them among whom he distributed the fiefs.

Tripoli captured. When ‘Uthmân was made caliph and Mu‘âwiyah became governor of Syria, the latter directed Sufyân ibn-Mujîb al-Azdi to Tripoli [Aṭrâbulus] which was a combination of three cities.^[17] Sufyân erected on a plain a few miles from the city a fort which was called Ḥiṣn Sufyân [Sufyân fort], intercepted the recruits from the sea as well as from the land and laid siege to the city. When the siege was pressed hard against them, the inhabitants of Tripoli met in one of the three fortifications and wrote to the king of the Greeks asking for relief through reinforcement or ships on which they might escape and flee to him. Accordingly, the king sent them many ships which they boarded in the night time and fled away. When Sufyân arose in the morning—he having been accustomed to sleep every night in his fort, and fortify the Moslems in it, and to rise up in the morning against the enemy—he discovered that the fortification in which the people of Tripoli were was vacant. Immediately he entered it and sent the news of the conquest to Mu‘âwiyah. Mu‘âwiyah made it a dwelling-place for a large body of Jews. It is this fortification in which the harbor of the city is to-day. Later ‘Abd-al-Malik built it and made it stronger.

Mu‘âwiyah used to send every year to Tripoli a large body of troops to guard the city and used to assign it to a different *‘âmil*; but in case the sea was closed, the *‘âmil* with a small band would stay and the rest would return. This state of affairs lasted until ‘Abd-al-Malik began to rule. In the days of the latter, one of the Greek patricians with a large body of men came to the city and asked for a promise of safety, agreeing to settle therein and pay *kharâj*. His request was granted. He had not been there two years or two years and a few months when he took advantage of the absence of the troops from the city, shut its gate and killed the *‘âmil*, taking his soldiers and many Jews as captives. He then made his way together with his followers to the land of the Greeks [Asia Minor]. Later the Moslems caught him on the sea going to a Moslem coast-town with a large number of ships, and killed him. Others say they took him captive and sent him to ‘Abd-al-Malik who killed and crucified him. I heard someone say that ‘Abd-al-Malik sent someone who besieged him in Tripoli until he surrendered and was carried before ‘Abd-al-Malik who killed and crucified him. Some of his followers took to flight and got as far as the land of the Greeks.

‘Ali ibn-Muḥammad al-Madâ’ini related on the authority of ‘Attâb ibn-Ibrâhîm that Tripoli was conquered by Sufyân ibn-Mujîb, that its inhabitants violated the covenant in the days of ‘Abd-al-Malik and that it was reduced by al-Walîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik in his reign.

The Mediterranean littoral reduced. Abu-Ḥaṣṣ ash-Shâmi from al-Waḍîn:—At first Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân directed Mu‘âwiyah against the littoral of the province of Damascus excluding Tripoli whose possession he did not covet. Mu‘âwiyah sometimes spent on the reduction of the fort a few days two or more in the course of which he was resisted either slightly or strongly before he could take it.

When the Moslems conquered a city, whether so situated as to overlook a wide territory or on the coast, they would station in it whatever number of Moslems was necessary; and if the enemy in it should start a revolt the Moslems would flock to it for reinforcement. But when ‘Uthmân ibn-‘Affân became caliph he wrote to Mu‘âwiyah instructing him to fortify the coast-cities and man them, and to give fiefs to those whom he settled in them. Mu‘âwiyah did accordingly.

Abu-Ḥaṣṣ from Sa‘îd ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz who said:—"I heard it said by some that after the death of his brother Yazîd, Mu‘âwiyah wrote to ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb describing the condition of the coast-towns. ‘Umar wrote back ordering that their fortifications be repaired, that garrisons be stationed in them, that watchmen be posted on their towers and that means be taken for lighting the fire on the towers to announce the approach of the enemy. ‘Umar gave Mu‘âwiyah no permission to carry out a naval campaign. But Mu‘âwiyah insisted so much that ‘Uthmân allowed him to carry out a sea expedition and instructed him to keep ready in the coast-cities troops in addition to those already in them, whether he wanted to set out on the campaign in person or send some one else on it. He also instructed him to give the garrison lands and distribute among them whatever houses had been evacuated, and to establish new mosques and enlarge those that had been established before his caliphate."

According to al-Waḍîn, after that, men from all quarters moved to the coast cities.

‘Alḳamah nominated governor of Ḥaurân. Al-‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm al-Kalbi from Ja‘far ibn-Kilâb al-Kilâbi:—‘Alḳamah ibn-‘Ulâthah ibn-‘Auf ibn-al-Aḥwaṣ ibn-Ja‘far ibn-Kilâb was assigned by ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb to the governorship of Ḥaurân and he was made responsible to Mu‘âwiyah. This position he held until his death. Before his death he heard that al-Ḥuṭai‘ah-l-‘Absi was coming to visit him; so ‘Alḳamah bequeathed to him in his will a share equal to one of his sons' shares. Hence the poem of al-Ḥuṭai‘ah:^[18]

" Between me and becoming rich had I only reached thee, when thou

wert still living there would have been an interval of only a few nights."

Kubbash farm. I was told by certain learned men. among whom was a neighbor of Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr that abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb possessed in the pre-Islamic period, in which he carried on trade with Syria, a village in al-Balkâ’ called Kubbash. This village passed into the possession of Mu‘âwiyah and his son, and at the beginning of the [Abbasid] dynasty, it was confiscated and possessed by certain sons of al-Mahdi, the "Commander of the Believers." Then it passed into the hands of certain oil-sellers of al-Kûfah known as the banu-Nu‘aim.

The Prophet gives fief to Tamîm and Nu‘aim. ‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from his grandfather: —Once came Tamîm ibn-Aus of the banu-ad-Dâr ibn-Hâni’ ibn-Ḥabîb of [the tribe of] Lakhm, surnamed abu-Ruḳaiyah, with his brother Nu‘aim ibn-Aus, to the Prophet who gave them as fief Ḥibra, Bait-‘Ainûn^[19] and Masjid Ibrâhim, and to that end he wrote a statement. When Syria was subdued, all that was restored to them. When Sulaimân ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik used to pass near this land he would not stop in it saying, "I am afraid the curse of the Prophet will follow me."

‘Umar gives stipends to diseased Christians. Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr told me he heard it said by certain *sheikhs* that on his way to al-Jâbiyah in the province of Damascus, ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb passed by certain Christians smitten with elephentiasis^[20] and he ordered that they be given something out of the *ṣadaqahs* and that food stipends be assigned to them.

Dair Khâlîd. Hishâm reported that he heard it said by al-Walîd ibn-Muslim that Khâlîd ibn-al-Walîd made a condition in favor of the convent known as Dair Khâlîd, when its occupants offered him a ladder to climb to the city wall, to the effect that their *kharâj* be reduced. The condition was enforced by abu-‘Ubaidah.

The terms with Ba‘labakk. When abu-‘Ubaidah was done with Damascus, he advanced to Ḥimṣ. On his way, he passed through Ba‘labakk whose inhabitants sought to secure safety and capitulate. Abu-‘Ubaidah made terms guaranteeing the safety of their lives, possessions and churches. To that end he wrote the following statement:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is a statement of security to so and so, son of so and so, and to the inhabitants of Ba‘labakk—Greeks, Persians and Arabs—for their lives, possessions, churches and houses, inside and outside the city and also for their mills. The Greeks are entitled to give pasture to their cattle within a space of 15 miles, yet are not to abide in any inhabited town. After Rabî‘ and Jumâda I shall have passed, they are at liberty to go where they will. Whosoever of them adopts Islâm, shall have the same rights as we and be bound by the same obligations; and their merchants are entitled to go whither they will in the countries that have become ours through capitulation. Those of them who do not adopt Islâm^[21] are bound to pay poll-tax and *kharâj*. Allah is witness and his witness is sufficient."

Footnotes

1. Diyârbakri, vol. ii, p. 259.
2. H. Lammens, *MFO*, vol. iii¹, p. 256; Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus*, the chart next to page 36.
3. *Mémoire*, p. 90.
4. Jubair, p. 274; Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 563.
5. Caetani, vol. iii, p. 364, note 2.
6. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2152.
7. Ḥassân, *Dîwân*, p. 17.
8. Ya‘ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 159; Lammens, *MFO*, vol. iii¹, p. 250.
9. Ya‘ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 159.

10. Yaʿkûbi, *Buldân*, p. 325: "one year".
11. Ar. *mudi*, Latin *modius*, is 17 *sâʿ*s; a *kisṭ* is half a *sâʿ*; an *irdabb* is 24 *sâʿ*s.
12. Al-Maḳḳari, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, vol. i, p. 368.
13. Modern Nuḳrah in Ḥaurân.
14. The correct form is Gharandal; Yaʿkûbi, *Buldân*, p. 326; Baedeker, p. 150.
15. "ʿArḳah" in Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, p. 105; Caetani, vol. iii, p. 801; "Correggi: ʿArqaq".
16. *Journal Asiatique*, 1859, vol. i, p. 120, note 1.
17. As its Greek name designates.
18. Goldziher: "Der Dîwân des Ġarwal b. Aus al-Ḥutejʿa" in *ZDMG*, vol. xlv, p. 30.
19. Ibn-Duraid, p. 226.
20. Ar. *mujadhdhamîn*, see *Ḳâmus*, *Tâj al-ʿArûs* and *Nihâyah*; Caetani, vol. iii, p. 933, translates: "mutilati".
21. Cf. Zaidân, vol. iv, p. 122, Margoliouth's translation.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 9

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CHAPTER IX

ḤIMŞ

The inhabitants capitulate. ‘Abbâs ibn-Hishâm from abu-Mikhnaf:—When abu-‘Ubaidah was through with Damascus, he sent ahead of him Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd and Milhân ibn-Zaiyâr at-Tâ’i and then he followed them. When they met in Ḥimş [Emesa],^[1] the people of the city resisted them, but finally sought refuge in the city and asked for safety and capitulation. They capitulated to abu-‘Ubaidah agreeing to pay 170,000 *dînârs*.^[2]

As-Simţ captures Ḥimş. According to al-Wâkidi and others, as the Moslems stood at the gates of Damascus there appeared a dense band of the enemy's horsemen. The troops of the Moslems set out and met them between Bait-Lihya and ath-Thaniyah. The enemy was defeated and took to flight in the direction of Ḥimş via Kâra. The Moslems pursued them to Ḥimş but found that they had turned away from it. The people of Ḥimş saw the Moslems and, being scared because Heraclius had run away from them and because of what they heard regarding the Moslems' power, valor and victory, they submitted and hastened to seek the promise of security. The Moslems guaranteed their safety and refrained from killing them. The people of Ḥimş offered them food for their animals and for themselves and the Moslems camped on the Orontes [al-Urunt, or al-Urund] (the river which empties its water in the sea near Antioch). The commander of the Moslems at that time was as-Simţ ibn-al-Aswad al-Kindi.

When abu-‘Ubaidah was through with Damascus, he left over it in his place Yazîd ibn-abî-Sufyân, came to Ḥimş via Ba‘labakk, and encamped at the Rastan gate. The people of Ḥimş capitulated, and he guaranteed the safety of their lives, possessions, city-wall, churches, and wells excluding one-fourth of St. John's Church which was to be turned into a mosque. He made it a condition on those of them who would not embrace Islâm to pay *kharâj*.^[3]

According to certain reports, it was as-Simţ ibn-al-Aswad al-Kindi who made the terms with the people of Ḥimş. When abu-‘Ubaidah arrived, he caused the terms to take effect. As-Simţ divided the city into lots, each marked for one Moslem to build his house. He also made them settle in every place whose occupants had evacuated it and in every yard that was deserted.

The terms with Ḥamâh, Shaizar, Fâmiyah and other places. Abu-Ḥaḥṣ ad-Dimashḳi from Sa'îd ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz:—When abu-ʿUbaidah ibn-al-Jarrâh effected the conquest of Damascus, he left over it as his lieutenant Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân; over the province of Palestine, ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿÂṣi; and over the province of the Jordan, Shuraḥbîl. He then advanced to Ḥimṣ whose people capitulated on the same terms as those of Baʿlabakk. Leaving over Ḥimṣ ʿUbâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit al-Anṣâri, he pushed towards Ḥamâh [Epiphania] whose people met him offering their submission. He made terms with them, stipulating that they pay tax on their heads and *kharâj* on their land. Thence he proceeded towards Shaizar. The people of Shaizar [Larissa] went out to meet him bowing^[4] before him and accompanied by players on the tambourines and singers. They agreed to terms similar to those made with the people of Ḥamâh. Abu-ʿUbaidah's horsemen reached as far as az-Zarrâʿah and al-Ḳaṣṭal. He then passed through Maʿarrat Ḥimṣ [Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmân] which was named after an-Nuʿmân ibn-Bashîr.^[5] Its people came out playing on tambourines and singing before him. Thence he came to Fâmiyah whose people met him in the same way and consented to pay poll-tax and *kharâj*. Thus was the question of Ḥimṣ brought to an end, and Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrîn became parts of one whole.^[6]

The "Junds" and "ʿAwâṣim." There is a disagreement regarding the name "Jund"^[7] [as applied to the military districts of Syria]. According to some, Palestine was called "Jund" by the Moslems because it was a collection of many provinces, and so was each of Damascus, Jordan, Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrîn. According to others, each district which had an army that received its monthly allowance in it was called "Jund." Thus Mesopotamia belonged to Ḳinnasrîn; but ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân made it a separate "Jund," that is, made its army take its allowance from its *kharâj*. ʿAbd-al-Malik was asked to do so by Muḥammad ibn-Marwân. own to the time of Yazîd ibn-Muʿâwiyah, Ḳinnasrîn and its districts were included in the province of Ḥimṣ; but Yazîd constituted Ḳinnasrîn, Antioch, Manbij and their districts as one "Jund." When ar-Rashîd Hârûn ibn-al-Mahdî was made caliph, he set Ḳinnasrîn apart and made of it and its districts one "Jund." He also separated Manbij, Dulûk, Raʿbân, Ḳûrus, Antioch and Tîzîn and called them "al-ʿAwâṣim"^[8] because these were the cities to which the Moslems resorted after making an invasion and leaving the frontier cities, and where they were safe and protected. The chief city of "al-ʿAwâṣim" he made Manbij [Hierapolis]. In this city ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Ṣâliḥ ibn-ʿAli lived in the year 173 and erected many buildings.

Al-Lâdhikîyah entered. Abu-Ḥaḥṣ ad-Dimashḳi from Sa'îd ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz, and Mûsa ibn-Ibrâhîm at-Tanûkhi from certain *sheikhs* of Ḥimṣ:—Abu-ʿUbaidah appointed in his place over Ḥimṣ ʿUbâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit al-Anṣâri who left for al-Lâdhikîyah.^[9] Its people resisted him and the city had a massive gate that could be opened only by a number of men. Seeing how difficult it was to reduce the city, ʿUbâdah encamped at a distance from it and ordered that trenches like canals be dug, each one large enough to conceal a man with his horse. The Moslems made special effort and got the work done. They then pretended to be returning to Ḥimṣ; but no sooner had the night fallen with its darkness, than they returned to their camp and trenches, while the people of al-Lâdhikîyah were negligent of them being under the impression that the Moslems had left them. Early in the morning, they opened their gate and drove forth their cattle; but how terrified they were to meet the Moslems and see them enter through the gate! Thus was the city taken by force. ʿUbâdah entered the fort and then climbed its wall and called "Allah is great" etc. Certain Christians of al-Lâdhikîyah fled to al-Yusaiyid, and later sought to surrender, agreeing to return to their lands. They were assigned to lands, and a fixed

kharâj^[10] was assessed to be paid by them every year whether they should increase or decrease in number. Their church was left for them. The Moslems, following the order of 'Ubâdah, erected in al-Ladhikiyah a cathedral mosque that was later enlarged.

Al-Lâdhikiyah destroyed and rebuilt. In the year 100, when 'Abd-al-'Azîz was caliph, the Greeks made a descent by sea on the coast of al-Lâdhikiyah. They destroyed the city and took its inhabitants prisoners. 'Umar ordered that it be rebuilt and fortified and asked the [Greek] "tyrant"^[11] to accept ransom for the Moslem prisoners. But this was not carried out till after his death in the year 101. The city was completed and garrisoned by the order of Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik.

According to a tradition communicated by one from al-Lâdhikiyah, 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz fortified the city and finished its work before he died. All what Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik did was to repair the city and increase its garrison.

Baldah taken by assault. Abu-Hafş ad-Dimashki from Sa'îd ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz and Sa'îd ibn-Sulaimân al-Himşi: 'Ubâdah with the Moslems appeared at the coast and took by assault a city called Baldah lying two parasangs from Jabalah. The city was later destroyed and its inhabitants evacuated it. Jabalah, which was a fortification for the Greeks and was deserted by them when the Moslems conquered Himş, was established by Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân and guarded by a garrison.

The fort of Jabalah. Sufyân ibn-Muhammad al-Bahrâni from certain *sheikhs*:—Mu'âwiyah erected for Jabalah^[12] a fort outside the older Greek fort which was now inhabited by monks and others devoted to religious exercises.

Anţarţûs reduced. Sufyân ibn-Muhammad from his father and *sheikhs*:—'Ubâdah with the Moslems conquered Anţarţûs [Tortosa] which was a fortified town and which was evacuated by its holders. Mu'âwiyah built Anţarţûs and fortified it^[13] giving the fiefs to the holders of the fort. The same thing he did with Maraķiyah and Bulunyâs.

Guards stationed in the littoral towns. Abu-Hafş ad-Dimashki from his *sheikhs*:—Abu-'Ubaidah effected the conquest of al-Lâdhikiyah, Jabalah and Anţarţûs through 'Ubâdah ibn-aş-Şâmit and used to put them in charge of a guard until the time in which the sea was closed.^[14] When Mu'âwiyah stationed garrisons in the coast cities and fortified them, he put garrisons in, and fortified these cities, too, and treated them as the other littoral towns.

Salamyah. It was reported to me by a *sheikh* from Himş that close to Salamyah [Salaminias] lay a city called Mu'takifah which one day was completely destroyed by an earthquake and only one hundred of its inhabitants survived. The survivors erected one hundred houses and lived in them. This new settlement was called *Silm Mi'ah*^[15] which name was corrupted into Salamyah. Later there came to this place Şâlih ibn-'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Abbâs, fortified it and lived in it with his sons. Many of his descendants still have their abode in it. According to ibn-Sahm al-Anţâki, however, Salamyah is an ancient Greek name.

Marwân destroys the wall of Himş. I was told by Muhammad ibn-Muṣaffa-l-Himşi that the wall of Himş was destroyed by Marwân ibn-Muhammad, because in his retreat before the people of Khurâsân, he passed by the people of Himş, who had broken off from their allegiance, and they carried away some of his baggage, property and armories.

Al-Faḍl ibn-Ḳârin and Mûsa ibn-Bugha as governors of Ḥimṣ. The city of Ḥimṣ had stones for pavement. In the days of Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-abi-Ishâk al-Mu‘taṣim-Billâh, the people rose against his ‘*âmil* over them, al-Faḍl ibn-Ḳârin aṭ-Ṭabari, a brother of Mayazdiyâr ibn-Ḳârin,^[16] and in accordance with his orders the pavement was removed. They rebelled again, repaved the city and fought against al-Faḍl ibn-Ḳârin until they worsted him. After robbing him of his money and wives, they put him to death and crucified him. Al-Mu‘taṣim directed against them Mûsa ibn-Bugha-l-Kabîr [the Elder] his freedman, and the inhabitants including a large number of Christians and Jews, fought against him. After a fearful slaughter, Mûsa put the survivors to flight, pursued them to the city and entered it by force. This took place in the year 250.

Ḥimṣ is the seat of a large granary that receives wheat and oil from the cities of the coast and other places that were given out as fiefs for their holders and recorded for them as such in special record books.

Footnotes

1. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 335; *Skizzen*, vol. vi, p. 60.
2. Ya‘ḳûbi, vol. ii, p. 160.
3. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, vol. xxix, p. 76 seq; Caetani, vol. iii, p. 432, note 2.
4. Ar. *kaffara*; see *GGA*, 1863, p. 1348; *Kashshâf*, vol. i, p. 22.
5. Yâḳût, *al-Mushtarik*, p. 401.
6. Cf. Caetani, vol. iii, p. 790, line 7.
7. The same word is commonly used for "troops".
8. Zaidân, vol. i, p. 153; the word means "those that give protection."
9. Laodicea; Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 338.
10. *Kharâj mukâṭa‘ah*. See Berchem, *La Propriété Territoriale*, p. 45.
11. Ar. *ṭaghīyah*, an appellation of the Byzantine emperor used by the Arabian writers.
12. Gabala, Gibellus Major, or Zibel; Le Strange, pp. 459–460.
13. Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 388.
14. The guard was posted in them so long as the sea was open for navigation, *i. e.*, until winter time.
15. "The safety of one hundred."
16. Cf. Athîr, vol. vii, p. 88.

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CHAPTER X

THE BATTLE OF AL-YARMÛK

A description of the battle. Heraclius gathered large bodies of Greeks, Syrians, Mesopotamians and Armenians numbering about 200,000.^[1] This army he put under the command of one of his choice men^[2] and sent as a vanguard Jabalah ibn-al-Aiham al-Ghassâni at the head of the "naturalized" Arabs [*musta'ribah*] of Syria of the tribes of Lakhm, Judhâm and others, resolving to fight the Moslems so that he might either win or withdraw to the land of the Greeks^[3] and live in Constantinople. The Moslems gathered together and the Greek army marched against them. The battle they fought at al-Yarmûk was of the fiercest and bloodiest kind.^[4] Al-Yarmûk [Hieromax] is a river. In this battle 24,000 Moslems took part. The Greeks and their followers in this battle tied themselves to each other by chains, so that no one might set his hope on flight. By Allah's help, some 70,000 of them were put to death, and their remnants took to flight, reaching as far as Palestine, Antioch, Aleppo, Mesopotamia and Armenia. In the battle of al-Yarmûk certain Moslem women took part and fought violently. Among them was Hind, daughter of 'Utbah and mother of Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân, who repeatedly exclaimed, "Cut the arms of these 'uncircumcised' with your swords!" Her husband abu-Sufyân had come to Syria as a volunteer desiring to see his sons, and so he brought his wife with him. He then returned to al-Madînah where he died, year 31, at the age of 88. Others say he died in Syria. When the news of his death was carried to his daughter, umm-Ḥabîbah, she waited until the third day on which she ordered some yellow paint and covered with it her arms and face saying, "I would not have done that, had I not heard the Prophet say, 'A woman should not be in mourning for more than three days over anyone except her husband.'" It is stated that she did likewise when she received the news of her brother Yazîd's death. But Allah knows best.

Those who lost an eye or suffered martyrdom. Abu-Sufyân ibn-Ḥarb was one-eyed. He had lost his eye in the battle of at-Ṭâ'if. In the battle of al-Yarmûk, however, al-Ash'ath ibn-Kais, Hâshim ibn-'Utbah ibn-abi-Wakkâs az-Zuhri (i. e. al-Mirkâl) and Kais ibn-Makshûḥ, each lost an eye. In this battle 'Âmir ibn-abi-Wakkâs az-Zuhri fell a martyr. It is this 'Âmir who once carried the letter of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb assigning abu-'Ubaidah to the governorship of Syria. Others say he was a victim of the plague; still others report that he suffered martyrdom in the battle of Ajnâḍîn; but all that is not true.

Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah pursues the fugitives. Abu-ʿUbaidah put Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah-l-Fihri at the head of a cavalry detachment charged with pursuing the fugitive enemy,^[5] and Ḥabīb set out killing every man whom he could reach.

The story of Jabalah. Jabalah ibn-al-Aiham sided with the *Anṣâr* saying, "Ye are our brethren and the sons of our fathers," and professed Islâm. After the arrival of ʿUmar ibn-al-Khṭṭâb in Syria, year 17, Jabalah had a dispute with one of the Muzainah and knocked out his eye. ʿUmar ordered that he be punished, upon which Jabalah said, "Is his eye like mine? Never, by Allah, shall I abide in a town where I am under authority." He then apostatized and went to the land of the Greeks. This Jabalah was the king of Ghassân^[6] and the successor of al-Ḥârith ibn-abi-Shimr.

According to another report, when Jabalah came to ʿUmar ibn-al-Khṭṭâb, he was still a Christian. ʿUmar asked him to accept Islam and pay *ṣadaqah*; but he refused saying, "I shall keep my faith and pay *ṣadaqah*." ʿUmar's answer was, "If thou keepest thy faith, thou hast to pay poll-tax." The man refused, and ʿUmar added, "We have only three alternatives for thee: Islâm, tax or going whither thou wilt." Accordingly, Jabalah left with 30,000 men to the land of the Greeks [Asia Minor]. ʿUbâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit gently reproved ʿUmar saying, "If thou hadst accepted *ṣadaqah* from him and treated him in a friendly way, he would have become Moslem."

In the year 21, ʿUmar directed ʿUmair ibn-Saʿd al-Anṣârî at the head of a great army against the land of the Greeks, and put him in command of the summer expedition^[7] which was the first of its kind. ʿUmar instructed him to treat Jabalah ibn-al-Aiham very kindly and to try and appeal to him through the blood relationship between them, so that he should come back to the land of the Moslems with the understanding that he would keep his own faith and pay the amount of *ṣadaqah* he had agreed to pay. ʿUmair marched until he came to the land of the Greeks and proposed to Jabalah what he was ordered by ʿUmar to propose; but Jabalah refused the offer and insisted on staying in the land of the Greeks. ʿUmair then came into a place called al-Ḥimâr—a valley—which he destroyed putting its inhabitants to the sword. Hence the proverb, "In a more ruined state than the hollow of Ḥimâr."^[8]

Heraclius' adieu to Syria. When Heraclius received the news about the troops in al-Yarmûk and the destruction of his army by the Moslems, he fled from Antioch to Constantinople, and as he passed ad-Darb^[9] he turned and said, "Peace unto thee, O Syria, and what an excellent country this is for the enemy!"^[10]—referring to the numerous pastures in Syria.

The battle of al-Yarmûk took place in Rajab, year 15.^[11]

Ḥubâsh loses his leg. According to Hishâm ibn-al-Kalbi, among those who witnessed the battle of al-Yarmûk was Ḥubâsh ibn-Ḳais al-Ḳushairi, who killed many of the "uncircumcised" and lost his leg without feeling it. At last he began to look for it. Hence the verse of Sauwâr ibn-Aufa:

"Among us were ibn-ʿAttâb and the one who went seeking his leg; and among us was one who offered protection to the quarter,"

—referring to dhu-l-Ruḳaibah.^[12]

Christians and Jews prefer Moslem rule. Abu-Ḥafṣ ad-Dimashqī from Saʿīd ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz:—When Heraclius massed his troops against the Moslems and the Moslems heard that they were coming to meet them at al-Yarmūk, the Moslems refunded to the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ the *kharāj*^[13] they had taken from them saying, "We are too busy to support and protect you. Take care of yourselves." But the people of Ḥimṣ replied, "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny^[14] in which we were. The army of Heraclius we shall indeed, with your *ʿāmil*'s help, repulse from the city." The Jews rose and said, "We swear by the Torah, no governor of Heraclius shall enter the city of Ḥimṣ unless we are first vanquished and exhausted!" Saying this, they closed the gates of the city and guarded them. The inhabitants of the other cities—Christian and Jew—that had capitulated to the Moslems, did the same, saying, "If Heraclius and his followers win over the Moslems we would return to our previous condition, otherwise we shall retain our present state so long as numbers are with the Moslems." When by Allah's help the "unbelievers" were defeated and the Moslems won, they opened the gates of their cities, went out with the singers and music players who began to play, and paid the *kharāj*.

Abu-ʿUbaidah reduces Ḳinnasrīn and Antioch. Abu-ʿUbaidah marched against the province of Ḳinnasrīn and Antioch and reduced it.

Shurahbīl transferred to Ḥimṣ. Al-ʿAbbās ibn-Hishām al-Kalbi from his grandfather:—As-Simṭ ibn-al-Aswad al-Kindi distinguished himself as a fighter in the battle of al-Yarmūk and particularly in Syria and Ḥimṣ. It was he who divided the houses of Ḥimṣ among its people. His son Shurahbīl was in al-Kūfah disputing the leadership over the Kindah tribe with al-Ashʿath ibn-Ḳais al-Kindi. Now, as-Simṭ appeared before ʿUmar saying, "'Commander of the Believers', I see thou dost not separate even captives from one another, yet thou hast separated me from my son. Change his position, if thou pleasest, to Syria, or mine to al-Kūfah." "Well," said ʿUmar, "I shall change his position to Syria." Accordingly, Shurahbīl took up his abode in Ḥimṣ with his father.

Footnotes

1. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 107.
2. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2347.
3. *i. e.*, Asia Minor; Arabic—*Bilād ar-Rûm*.
4. Al-Baṣri, *Futūḥ ash-Shām*, p. 130 *seq.*; Pseudo-Wāḳidi, *Futūḥ ash-Shām*, vol. ii, pp. 32–35.
5. Athīr, vol. i, p. 179.
6. Nöldeke: "Die Ghassānischen Fürsten" in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin), 1887, No. II, p. 45 *seq.*
7. Zaidān, vol. i, p. 155; Ḳudāmāh, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* in ibn-Khurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, p. 259.
8. Bakri, vol. i, p. 254. Freytag, *Proverbia*, vol. i, p. 231, no. 66.
9. The pass of Taurus.
10. Ṭabari vol. i, pp. 2395 and 2396.
11. The date of the Yarmūk is confused by some Arabian historians with that of Ajnādīn, Jumāda ii, year 13; see Athīr, vol. ii, p. 315.

12. *Kâmus*: "his name was Mâlik".
13. Yûsuf, p. 81.
14. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, vol. i, p. 274.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 11

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CHAPTER XI

PALESTINE

Places conquered by ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi. Abu-Ḥaṣṣ ad-Dimashḳi from learned *sheikhs*:—The first conflict between Moslems and Greeks took place in the caliphate of abu-Bakr in the province of Palestine, the one in chief command over the Moslems being ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi. Later on in the caliphate of abu-Bakr, ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi effected the conquest of Ghazzah, then Sabastīyah^[1] and Nâbulus [Neapolis] with the stipulation that he guaranteed to the inhabitants the safety of their lives, their possessions and their houses on condition that they pay poll-tax, and *kharâj* on their land. He then conquered Ludd [Lydda] and its district, and then Yubna [Jabneh or Jabneel], ‘Amawâs [Emmaus] and Bait-Jabrîn^[2] [Eleutheropolis] where he took for himself an estate^[3] which he named ‘Ajlân after a freedman of his. He then conquered Yâfa [Jaffa] which according to others was conquered by Mu‘âwīyah. ‘Amr also conquered Rafaḥ and made similar terms with it.

The conquest of Jerusalem. As ‘Amr was besieging Îliyâ’, *i. e.*, Jerusalem in the year 16, abu-‘Ubaidah after reducing Ḳinnasrîn and its environs, came to him, and according to a report, sent him from Jerusalem to Antioch whose people had violated the covenant. ‘Amr reduced the city and returned [to Jerusalem]. Only two or three days after his return, the inhabitants of Jerusalem asked to capitulate to abu-‘Ubaidah on the same terms as those of the cities of Syria as regards tax and *kharâj*, and to have the same treatment as their equals elsewhere, provided the one to make the contract be ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb in person, Abu-‘Ubaidah communicated this in writing to ‘Umar who came first to al-Jâbiyah in Damascus and then to Jerusalem. He made the terms of capitulation with the people of Jerusalem to take effect and gave them a written statement. The conquest of Jerusalem took place in the year 17.

A different account has been reported regarding the conquest of Jerusalem.

Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—Khâlid ibn-Thâbit al-Fahmi was sent by ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, who was at that time in al-Jâbiyah, at the head of an army to Jerusalem. After fighting with the inhabitants, they agreed to pay something on what was within their fortified city and to deliver to the Moslems all what was outside. ‘Umar came and concurred, after which he returned to al-Madînah.^[4]

Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr from al-Auzâ‘î:—Abu-‘Ubaidah reduced Ḳinnasrîn and its districts in the year 16; after which he came to Palestine and camped in Jerusalem, whose people asked him to make terms with them, which he did in the year 17, with the stipulation that ‘Umar would come in person, put the terms into effect and write a statement of them to the people.

‘Umar welcomed by the people of Adhri‘ât. Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr from ‘Abdallâh ibn-Ḳais:—The latter said, "I was one of those who went with abu-‘Ubaidah to meet ‘Umar as he was coming to Syria. As ‘Umar was passing, he was met by the singers and tambourine players of the inhabitants of Adhri‘ât^[5] with swords and myrtle. Seeing that, ‘Umar shouted 'Keep still! Stop them!' But abu-‘Ubaidah replied, "This is their custom (or some other word like it), "Commander of the Believers," and if thou shouldst stop them from doing it, they would take that as indicating thy intention to violate their covenant.'" Well, then, said ‘Umar, 'let them go on.'"

The plague of ‘Amawâs. The plague of ‘Amawâs [Emmaus] occurred in the year 18. To it a great many Moslems fell victim, among whom was abu-‘Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâḥ (who was 58 years old and a commander in the army) and Mu‘âdh ibn-Jabal of the banu-Salimah of al-Khazraj who was surnamed abu-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân and who died in the district of al-Uḳḥuwânah in the province of the Jordan, aged 38. This Mu‘âdh, abu-‘Ubaidah on his deathbed had appointed as his successor. According to others he appointed ‘Iyâd ibn-Ghanm al-Fîhri. Some others say he appointed ‘Amr ibn-al-Âṣi who appointed his own son as successor and departed for Egypt. Al-Faḍl ibn-al-‘Abbâs ibn-‘Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, surnamed abu-Muḥammad, fell, according to some, as martyr in Ajnâdân; but the fact is that he was a victim to the plague at ‘Amawâs. Other victims were Shuraḥbîl ibn-Ḥasanah, surnamed abu-‘Abdallâh (who died 69 years old); Suhail ibn-‘Amr of the banu-‘Âmir ibn-Lu‘ai, surnamed abu-Yazîd; and al-Ḥârith ibn-Hishâm ibn-al-Mughîrah-l-Makhzûmi (who, according to others, fell a martyr in the battle of Ajnâdân).

Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân governor of Syria. When ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb received the news of the death of abu-‘Ubaidah, he wrote to Yazid ibn-abi-Sufyan appointing him in his place as governor of Syria, and ordering him to invade Ḳaisârîyah [Caesarea]. According to others, however, Yazîd was appointed by ‘Umar as governor of the Jordan and Palestine; abu-ad-Dardâ, of Damascus; and ‘Ubâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit, of Ḥimṣ.

The conquest of Ḳaisârîyah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from al-Wâḳidi:—There is difference of opinion regarding the conquest of Ḳaisârîyah [Caesarea]. Some say Mu‘âwiyah subdued it; others, ‘Iyâ ibn-Ghanm, after the death of abu-‘Ubaidah whose successor he was; and still others ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi. According to some, ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi left for Egypt and appointed his son ‘Abdallâh to succeed him. The truth in all that, on which scholars agree, is that the first to lay siege to the city was ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi who made his descent on it in Jumâda I, year 13. ‘Amr would camp around it as long as he could, and whenever the Moslem forces wanted to combine against their enemy, he would go to them. Thus he witnessed the battles of Ajnâdân, Fîḥl, al-Marj, Damascus and al-Yarmûk. He then returned to Palestine and after taking Jerusalem laid siege to Ḳaisârîyah. From Ḳaisârîyah he left for Egypt. After abu-‘Ubaidah, Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân became governor of Syria, and he appointed his brother to press the siege. Smitten by the plague, Yazîd returned to Damascus where he died.

Other than al-Wâkidi state that 'Umar appointed Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân to the governorship of Palestine together with the other provinces of Syria and ordered him to invade Ẓaisârîyah which had already been besieged. Yazîd went against it with 17,000 men. Its people resisted; and he laid the siege. In the last part of the year 18, he fell ill and departed for Damascus leaving his brother Mu'âwiyah in his place at Ẓaisârîyah. Mu'âwiyah reduced the city^[6] and wrote to Yazîd to that effect, and the latter communicated the news to 'Umar.

Mu'âwiyah nominated governor of Syria. At the death of Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân, 'Umar wrote to Mu'âwiyah making him governor in his [Yazîd's] place, upon which abu-Sufyân thanked 'Umar saying, "May the tie of relationship be made stronger by thy kind behavior!"

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from Tamîm ibn-'Aṭîyah:—'Umar made Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân governor of Syria after Yazîd, and appointed with him two men of the Prophet's Companions for conducting prayer and performing the duties of *kâḍi*: abu-ad-Dardâ' to act as *kâḍi* and to conduct prayer at Damascus and the Jordan, and 'Ubâdah to act as *kâḍi* and conduct prayer at Ḥimş and Ẓinnasrîn.

Mu'âwiyah besieges Ẓaisârîyah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi:—When 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb made Mu'âwiyah governor of Syria, the latter besieged Ẓaisârîyah until he reduced it, the city having been under siege for seven years. Its conquest took place in Shawwâl, year 19.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Abdallâh ibn-'Âmir:—Mu'âwiyah besieged Ẓaisârîyah until he lost all hope of reducing it. Previous to this, the city had been besieged by 'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi and his son. When Mu'âwiyah at last took it by storm, he found in it 700,000 [*sic!*] soldiers with fixed stipends, 30,000 Samaritans and 20,000 Jews. He found in the city 300 markets, all in good shape. It was guarded every night by 100,000 men stationed on its wall. The city was reduced in the following way:—A Jew named Yûsuf came to the Moslems at night and pointed out to them a road through a tunnel the water in which would reach a man's waist; in consideration for which information, safety was guaranteed him and his relatives. Mu'âwiyah sanctioned the conditions [made to Yûsuf] and the Moslems entered the city by night, calling "Allah is great!" The Greeks seeking to flee through the tunnel found it occupied by Moslems. The Moslems opened the city gate and Mu'âwiyah with his men went in. Many Arabs were in the city [as prisoners?]. One of them was a woman, Shaḵrâ', whom Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit referred to when he said:

"Shaḵrâ' says, 'If thou shouldst relinquish wine,
thou wouldst become rich in number.'^[7]"

Others say her name was Sha'thâ'.

The captives from Ẓaisârîyah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi:—The prisoners from Ẓaisârîyah [Caesarea] amounted to 4,000. When Mu'âwiyah sent them to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb the latter gave orders that they be settled in al-Jurf. They were then distributed among the orphans of the *Anṣâr*, and some were used as clerks and manual laborers for the Moslems. The daughters of abu-Umâmah As'ad ibn-Zurârah, having

been given by abu-Bakr two servants from the prisoners of 'Ain at-Tamr who were now dead, 'Umar assigned to the daughters two of the captives of ̤aisârîyah to take the place of the two dead servants.

Mu'âwiyah forwarded two men of the Judhâm to carry the news of the conquest to 'Umar. Fearing that they might not hasten enough, he forwarded a man of the Khath'am who exerted all effort in walking by day and by night repeating:

"The two brothers of Judhâm have brought insomnia on me,
the brother of Hishm and the brother of Harâm.
How can I sleep so long as they are ahead of me?
They are going along and the midday heat is becoming vehement."^[8]

At last he got ahead of them and presented himself before 'Umar who, hearing the news of the conquest, exclaimed "Allah is great!"

Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from one whose name I do not remember:—̤aisârîyah was taken by storm in the year 19. Hearing the news of its capture, 'Umar exclaimed, "̤aisârîyah is taken by storm. Allah is great!" and so did the rest of the Moslems. The city was besieged for seven years and was finally reduced by Mu'âwiyah.

The death of Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân took place at the end of the year 18, in Damascus.

The date of the conquest of ̤aisârîyah. Those who claim that Mu'âwiyah reduced ̤aisârîyah in the days of his brother believe that it was not reduced before the end of the year 18; but those who claim that it was reduced while he was governor of Syria believe that it was reduced in the year 19. Of the two views, the latter is the tenable one. According to still other reports, the city was reduced in the early part of the year 20.

'Askalân reduced. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to Mu'âwiyah instructing him to follow up the conquest of what was left in Palestine. Accordingly, Mu'âwiyah conquered 'Askalân [Ascalon] which capitulated after some resistance. According to others, however, it was 'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi who first conquered the city. Later, its inhabitants violated the covenant and were reinforced by the Greeks. It was then that Mu'âwiyah reduced it, settled garrisons of cavalry in it and put it in charge of a guard.

'Abd-al-Malik makes repairs in 'Askalân, ̤aisârîyah and other places. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from certain *sheikhs* of 'Askalân:—The Greeks destroyed 'Askalân and expelled its inhabitants in the days of ibn-az-Zubair. When 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân became ruler, he rebuilt the city and fortified it, and made repairs in ̤aisârîyah, too.

Muḥammad ibn-Muṣaffa from abu-Sulaimân ar-Ramli's father:—In the days of ibn-az-Zubair the Greeks went out against ̤aisârîyah and devastated it and razed its mosque to the ground. When 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was settled in his rule, he made repairs in ̤aisârîyah, restored its mosque and left a garrison in it. Moreover, he built Ṭyre and outer Acre which had shared the same fate as ̤aisârîyah.

Sulaimân ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik builds ar-Ramlah. The following tradition was communicated to me by certain men well versed in the conditions of Syria:—Al-Walîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik made Sulaimân ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik governor of the province of Palestine. Sulaimân took up his abode in Ludd and then founded the city of ar-Ramlah and fortified it.^[9] The first thing he built in it was his palace and the house known as Dâr aş-Şabbâghîn [the house of the dyers] in the middle of which he made a cistern. He then planned the mosque and began its construction, but he became caliph before its completion. After becoming caliph, he continued its construction which was completed by ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAziz who reduced the original plan, saying, "The inhabitants of ar-Ramlah should be satisfied with the size thereof to which I have reduced it."

After having erected a house for himself, Sulaimân permitted the people to build their houses, which they did. He dug for the inhabitants of ar-Ramlah their canal which is called Baradah, and he dug also wells. The one he appointed to oversee the expenses of his palace in ar-Ramlah and of the cathedral mosque^[10] was one of his clerks, a certain Christian of Ludd named al-Batrik ibn-an-Naka.^[11] Before Sulaimân there was no such city as ar-Ramlah, and its site was sand [Ar. *raml*].

The Dâr aş-Şabbâghîn passed to the hands of the heirs of Şâlih ibn-ʿAli ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-al-Abbâs, because it was confiscated with the possessions of the banu-Umayyah.

The expenses of the wells and canal of ar-Ramlah, after the time of Sulaimân ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik, were met by the banu-Umayyah. But when the banu-l-Abbâs assumed the caliphate, they paid the expenses. The order for these expenses was issued yearly by every caliph; but when al-Muʿtaṣim became caliph, he gave a permanent decree for these expenses, thereby doing away with the necessity of issuing an order every time by the caliph. It became thereafter a current expense which the *ʿâmil*s paid and kept an account of.

"Reduction" and "restoration" in the *kharâj*. There are in Palestine special places containing documents from the caliphs, set aside from the records of the *kharâj* of the common people and containing a statement of the "reduction" and "restoration", the explanation of which is the following:—Certain estates having been abandoned in the caliphate of ar-Rashîd and deserted by their occupants, ar-Rashîd sent Harthamah ibn-Aʿyan to cultivate them. Harthamah asked some of their old tenants and farmers to go back to them with the understanding that he would reduce their *kharâj* and would deal with them more leniently. Those who went back are those to whom the "reductions" were made. Others came after that and their old lands were restored to them. These are the ones to whom the "restorations" were made.

Fiefs in ʿAskalân. The following tradition was related to me by Bakr ibn-al-Haitham:—"I met a man of the Arabs in ʿAskalân who said that his grandfather was one of those settled in ʿAskalân by ʿAbd-al-Malik and was given a fief in it as one of the garrison of cavalry to whom fiefs were assigned. He also showed me a piece of land, saying, "This is one of the fiefs given by ʿUthmân ibn-ʿAffân". I heard Muḥammad ibn-Yûsuf al-Fâryâbi^[12] say:—"Here in ʿAskalân are fiefs which were given out by the orders of ʿUmar and ʿUthmân, and it matters not who takes possession of them."

Footnotes

1. *i. e.*, Samaria; abu-l-Fida, vol. i, p. 160.
2. Athîr, vol. ii, p. 390.
3. Yâkût, vol. i, p. 19, line 12.
4. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2360.
5. Edrei of Numbers xxi: 33.
6. Ya' kûbi, vol ii, p. 172.
7. Cf. Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit, *Diwân*, p. 61; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kâmil*, p. 148.
8. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2397.
9. Ar. *maṣṣara*—"to make a city a boundary line between two things;" see *an-Nihâyah*; Le Strange, p. 303, translates: "made it his capital."
10. Muḳaddasi, p. 164.
11. "Ibn-Baka" in Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, p. 102.
12. "Firyâbi " in Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 2557.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 12

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CHAPTER XII

THE PROVINCE OF ẒINNASRÎN AND THE CITIES CALLED AL-‘AWÂSIM

Ẓinnasrîn capitulates. Abu-‘Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâh, after being through with al-Yarmûk, went to the province of Ḥimṣ and passed from one place to the other examining it.^[1] Then he went to Ẓinnasrîn [Chalcis] with Khâlîd ibn-al-Walîd commanding the van of his army.^[2] The inhabitants of the city of Ẓinnasrîn resisted at first, then they sought refuge in their stronghold and asked to capitulate. Abu-‘Ubaidah made terms with them similar to those of Ḥimṣ. Thus the Moslems effected the conquest of the land of Ẓinnasrîn with its villages. The Ḥâḍir^[3] Ẓinnasrîn had been settled by the Tanûkh tribe since they came to Syria and pitched their tents in it. They later built their houses in it. These, abu-‘Ubaidah summoned to Islâm. Some of them accepted it, but the banu-Salîh ibn-Hulwân ibn-‘Imrân ibn-al-Ḥâfi ibn-Ḳuḍâ‘ah remained Christian.^[4]

Certain sons of Yazîd ibn-Ḥunain at-Ṭâ‘i-l-Anṭâki from their *sheikhs*:—A group of men from this Ḥâḍir Ẓinnasrîn embraced Islam in the caliphate of al-Mahdi who inscribed on their hands in green color the word "Ẓinnasrîn."

Ẓinnasrîn violates the covenant. Thence abu-‘Ubaidah departed bent upon Aleppo [Ḥalab], but hearing that the people of Ẓinnasrîn had violated the covenant and proved perfidious, he directed against them as-Simṭ ibn-al-Aswad al-Kindi who reduced the city after besieging them.

Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr ad-Dimashki from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ghanm:—"We kept our post against Ẓinnasrîn with as-Simṭ (or, perhaps he said Shuraḥbîl ibn-as-Simṭ) as our leader. When he reduced the city, he carried off cows and sheep as booty. One part of the booty he distributed among us and the remaining part was treated according to the laws governing the spoils [Ar. *maghnam*]^[5]."

The Ḥâḍir Ṭaiyi’. The Ḥâḍir Ṭaiyi’^[6] was of old origin. It dates back to the disastrous war termed Ḥarb al-Fasâd^[7] which tore up the tribe of Ṭaiyi’ some of whom then came and established themselves on the two mountains [*al-Jabalain*, i. e., Aja and Salma]. Under these circumstances a large body of the Ṭaiyi’ were dispersed over the country and some came and settled [near Ẓinnasrîn]. When abu-‘Ubaidah came to them, some became Moslems and many made terms agreeing to pay poll-tax, a little after which they all accepted Islam with the exception of a few.

The Hâdir of Aleppo. Close by the city of Aleppo stood a settlement called the Hâdir Halab in which different Arab tribes including Tanûkh lived. Abu-‘Ubaidah made terms with them in which they agreed to pay poll-tax. Later they embraced Islâm and lived with their descendants in the same place until a little after the death of ar-Rashîd. The inhabitants of this Hâdir once fought against the people of the city of Aleppo and tried to drive them out of their city. The Hâshim tribe of the people of Aleppo wrote to all the Arab tribes of the vicinity asking for help. The first to come to their support and aid was al-‘Abbâs ibn-Zufar ibn-‘Âsim al-Hilâlî (according to his maternal pedigree, because umm-‘Abdallâh ibn-al-‘Abbâs was Lubâbah, daughter of al-Hârith ibn-Hâzn ibn-Bujair ibn-al-Huzam of the Hilâl tribe). The people of that Hâdir could not resist this al-‘Abbâs and his men. They were therefore expelled from their Hâdir, and that at the time of the insurrection of Muḥammad ibn-ar-Rashîd; and their Hâdir was destroyed. They moved to Kinnasrîn whose people met them with food and clothing. No sooner had they entered the city, than they attempted to subjugate it and were therefore driven out. Thus they were dispersed over the land, some settling in Takrît (whom I myself have seen) and others in Armenia and various other regions.

Al-‘Abbâs ibn-Zufar in Aleppo. I was told by al-Mutawakkil that he heard a *sheikh* of the banu-Şâlih ibn-‘Alî ibn-‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Abbâs say to al-Mu‘taşim, in the year in which the latter invaded 'Ammûrîyah',^[8] that when al-‘Abbâs ibn-Zufar al-Hilâlî arrived in Aleppo for the support of the Hashimites, some of their women called him saying, "Our hope, uncle, is in Allah and in thee!" To this al-‘Abbâs answered, "There is no danger, if it be the will of Allah; may Allah disappoint me, if I should disappoint you!"

Hiyâr bani-l-Ḳa‘kâ’. Hiyâr bani-l-Ḳa‘kâ’ was a well-known town in pre-Islamic time. In it was the stopping place of al-Mundhir ibn-Mâ’ as-Samâ’ al-Lakhmi, the king of al-Hîrah. It was also settled by the banu-l-Ḳa‘kâ’ ibn-Khulaid ... ibn-Baghîd, who chose it for their abode and after whom it was thus called.

‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân had given to al-Ḳa‘kâ’ a part of this Hiyâr as fief, and to al-Ḳa‘kâ’s uncle, al-‘Abbâs ibn-Jaz’ ibn-al-Hârith other fiefs which he exempted from the *kharâj*^[9] and assessed it on al-Yaman. They were also exempt after he died. All or most of them were waste land. The daughter of this al-‘Abbâs, Wallâdah, lived with ‘Abd-al-Malik and brought forth al-Walîd and Sulaimân.

Abu-‘Ubaidah reduces Aleppo. Abu-‘Ubaidah set out for Aleppo sending before him ‘Iyâd ibn-Ghanm al-Fihri. (The name of the latter's father was ‘Abd-Ghanm; but when ‘Iyâd accepted Islâm, he hated to be called ‘Abd-Ghanm,^[10] so he said, "I am ‘Iyâd ibn-Ghanm"). Abu-‘Ubaidah, finding the people in a fortified position, camped around the city; but no sooner had he done so, than they sought to capitulate and make terms regarding the safety of their lives, their possessions, city wall, churches, homes and the fort. All this was granted them with the exception of a site for the mosque. The one to make the terms was ‘Iyâd; and abu-‘Ubaidah sanctioned them.

Some reporters claim that they capitulated, agreeing to share with the Moslems half of their homes and churches provided their lives be spared. Others assert that abu-‘Ubaidah found nobody in Aleppo, its inhabitants having moved to Antioch. From there they agreed in writing with abu-‘Ubaidah on the terms of peace. When the terms were concluded, they returned to Aleppo.

Antioch reduced by abu-'Ubaidah. Abu-'Ubaidah set out from Aleppo for Antioch [Anṭâkiyah] in which a large body of men from the province of Ḳinnasrîn had fortified themselves. On his arrival at Mahrûbah, which lay about two parasangs from Antioch, the troops of the enemy met him ; and he dispersed them and forced them to seek refuge in the city. Abu-'Ubaidah invested the city at all its gates, most of the army being at the Bâb Fâris and Bâb al-Bahr [sea gate]. At last they capitulated, agreeing to pay poll-tax or evacuate the place. Some of them did leave; but others remained, and to the latter abu-'Ubaidah guaranteed safety, assessing one *dînâr* and one *jarîb* [of wheat] on every adult. Later, they violated the contract, which made abu-'Ubaidah send against them 'Iyâd ibn-Ghanm and Ḥabîb ibn-Maslamah, who reduced the city and made terms identical with the previous ones. Some say, however, that they violated the contract after abu-'Ubaidah's return to Palestine. So he sent from Jerusalem 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi who reduced it and returned to Jerusalem whose people, after a short time, sought to capitulate and make peace.

A garrison stationed in Antioch. Muḥammad ibn-Sahm al-Anṭâki from certain *sheikhs* of the frontier cities:—Antioch was highly esteemed by 'Umar and 'Uthmân. When it was therefore reduced, 'Umar wrote to abu-'Ubaidah saying, "Station in Antioch Moslems of strong determination and good management. Let them be its garrison, and never stop their allowances." When he made Mu'âwiyah governor, 'Umar wrote to him something to that effect. Later 'Uthmân instructed Mu'âwiyah to station in it troops that would never leave and to assign them fiefs, which Mu'âwiyah did. The following was said by abu-Sahm, "As a child, while I was standing on the bridge of Antioch spanning the Orontes [Ar. al-Urunt] I heard an aged man of Antioch say, 'This piece of land is a fief from 'Uthmân to certain men that were in the army sent by abu-'Ubaidah. It was allotted them in the time in which Mu'âwiyah was, according to 'Uthmân's assignment, the governor of Syria.'"

Muslim ibn-'Abdallâh loses his life. Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân transplanted to Antioch in the year 42 some Persians and others from Ba'labakk, Ḥims, al-Baṣrah and al-Kûfah.^[11] One of those transplanted was Muslim ibn-'Abdallâh, the grandfather of 'Abdallâh ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-an-Nu'mân ibn-Muslim al-Anṭâki. This Muslim was killed at one of the gates of Antioch which is known to-day as Bâb Muslim. His death was brought about when the Greeks started from the coast and set up their camp against Antioch and one of the "uncircumcised" threw a stone on Muslim, who was then on the city wall, and killed him.

Seleucia given as fief. According to a tradition communicated to me by certain *sheikhs* from Antioch, among whom was ibn-Burd al-Faḳîh, al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik gave as fief to some of the troops of Antioch the land of Seleucia [Ar. Salûḳîyah] lying at the sea-coast. Moreover, he fixed the tax on a *filthur* (i. e., *jarîb*) one *dînâr* and one modius^[12] of wheat. They cultivated the land; and the terms were carried into effect. He also built the fort of Seleucia.

Baghrâs. The land of Baghrâs [Pagrae] belonged to Maslamah ibn-'Abd-al-Malik who gave it as an unalienable legacy^[13] to be used in the cause of righteousness. The same man owned 'Ain as-Sallaur with its lake and al-Iskandarîyah [Alexandria] which latter passed as fief into the hands of Rajâ', a freedman of al-Mahdi, to be inherited by his [al-Mahdi] sons Manṣûr and Ibrâhîm, later to Ibrâhîm ibn-Sa'îd al-Jauhari, then by purchase to Aḥmad ibn-abi-Duwâd al-Iyâdi, and lastly to al-Mutawakkil, "the Commander of the Believers."

Maslamah gives fiefs to Rabî'ah. According to a tradition communicated to me by ibn-Burd al-Anâtaki and others, certain men of the Rabî'ah tribe were assigned fiefs by Maslamah ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, which were later confiscated, passed to al-Ma'mûn and put in charge of Şâlih al-Khâzin, the proprietor of the "Dâr[-Şâlih]" in Antioch.

Abu-'Ubaidah reduces Ma'arrat Mişrîn and other places. Abu-'Ubaidah, hearing that a large body of Greeks were assembled between Ma'arrat Mişrîn^[14] and Aleppo, met them and killed many patricians, dispersing the whole army and carrying away captives and booty. Thus he effected the conquest of Ma'arrat Mişrîn and made terms similar to the terms of Aleppo. His cavalry roamed about until they got to Bûka and reduced the villages of al-Jûmah, Sarmîn,^[15] Martahwân^[16] and Tîzîn.^[17] The occupants of the convents of Ṭabâya^[18] and al-Fasîlah capitulated, agreeing to entertain whomever of the Moslems passed by them. The Khunâşirah Christians, too, came to abu-'Ubaidah and made terms. Thus did all the land of Ḳinnasrîn and Antioch fall into the hands of abu-'Ubaidah. I learnt from al-'Abbâs ibn-Hishâm on the authority of his father that the Khunâşirah were thus called after one, Khunâşir ibn-'Amr ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Kalbi—later al-Kinânî—who was their chief.

Buṭnân Ḥabîb was so called after Ḥabîb ibn-Maslamah-l-Fihri who was sent from Aleppo either by abu-'Ubaidah or Iyâd ibn-Ghanm to Bunân, where he reduced a fort that later bore his name.

The treaty with Ḳûrus. Abu-'Ubaidah set out bent upon Ḳûrus^[19] [Cyrrhus], sending at the head of the vanguard 'Iyâd. The latter was met by one of the monks of Ḳûrus, who asked to capitulate on behalf of its people. 'Iyâd sent the monk to abu-'Ubaidah, who was now between Jabrîn^[20] and Tall A'zâz.^[21] Abu-'Ubaidah accepted the capitulation and proceeded to Ḳûrus where he signed a covenant with its people, granting them the same rights granted to the people of Antioch. To the monk, he wrote a special statement regarding a village that he owned called Sharkîna.^[22] He then distributed his cavalry and subdued all the province of Ḳûrus to the end of the frontier of Niḳâbulus (Nicepholis).

Ḳûrus a frontier garrison for Antioch. Ḳûrus was for Antioch the seat of a garrison that kept watch on the enemy. To it came every year a detachment^[23] from the Antioch army to act as garrison. Later, one of the four divisions into which the army of Antioch was divided^[24] was moved to it; and the periodical detachments were no more sent there.

Salmân fort. Salmân ibn-Rabî'ah-l-Bâhili was in the army of abu-'Ubaidah, together with abu-Umâmah aş-Şudai ibn-'Ajlân, a Companion of the Prophet. This Salmân occupied a fort in Ḳûrus which was called after him Ḥişn [fort] Salmân. He then returned from Syria, together with others, to reinforce Sa'd ibn-abi-Waḳḳâş in al-'Irâḳ. According to others, Salmân ibn-Rabî'ah had led an invasion against the Greeks after the conquest of al-'Irâḳ and before he started for Armenia. On setting out from the district of Mar'ash, he encamped near this fort and it was called after him. This Salmân together with Ziyâd^[25] were among the Slavs whom Marwân ibn-Muḥammad stationed in the frontier fortresses.^[26] I heard someone say that this Salmân was a Slav and that the fort was named after him.

Manbij, Dulûk and Ra'bân make terms. Abu-'Ubaidah advanced to Ḥalab as-Sâjûr^[27] and sent before him 'Iyâd to Manbij [Hierapolis]. When abu-'Ubaidah came up to 'Iyâd, he found that the people of Manbij had capitulated on terms similar to those of Antioch.

Abu-ʿUbaidah carried the terms into effect and sent ʿIyâd ibn-Ghanm to the region of Dulûk and Raʿbân, whose inhabitants capitulated on terms similar to those of Manbij. One condition imposed on them was that they search for news regarding the Greeks and forward it in writing to the Moslems. To every district abu-ʿUbaidah conquered, he assigned a ʿâmil and sent with him some Moslems. But in the dangerous places he posted garrisons.

Bâlis and Kâşirîn captured. Abu-ʿUbaidah proceeded until he got to ʿArâjîn.^[28] The van of the army he sent to Bâlis [Barbalissus]; and to Kâşirîn he sent an army under Ḥabib ibn-Maslamah. Bâlis and Kâşirîn^[29] belonged to two brothers of the Greek nobility to whom were given as fiefs the adjacent villages and who were made guardians of the Greek towns of Syria that lay between Bâlis and Kâşirîn. When the Moslem armies reached these towns, their inhabitants capitulated, agreeing to pay poll-tax or evacuate the places. Most of them left for the Byzantine Empire, Mesopotamia and the village of Jisr Manbij [or Kalʿat an-Najm]. At this time there was no bridge [Ar. *jisr*]. It was first put up for the summer expeditions in the days of ʿUthmân ibn-ʿAffân. Others claim that it is of ancient origin.

Abu-ʿUbaidah stationed in Bâlis a body of fighting men and settled in the city some Arabs, who were in Syria and who, after the advent of the Moslems to Syria, had accepted Islâm, together with others who were not among the forces sent to the frontiers, but who had emigrated from the deserts and belonged to the Kais tribe. In Kâşirîn, he settled others who, either themselves or their descendants, refused to stay in it. Abu-ʿUbaidah reached as far as the Euphrates and then returned to Palestine.

Maslamah canal. Bâlis and the villages attached to it on its upper, middle, and lower extremities were tithe-lands watered only by rain. When Maslamah ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân led an expedition against the Greeks from the side of the Mesopotamian frontier fortresses, he camped at Bâlis whose inhabitants, together with those of Buwailis, Kâşirîn, ʿÂbidîn, and Şiffin (which were villages attached to Bâlis) came to him, together with the inhabitants of the upper extremity, and they all asked him to dig for them a canal from the Euphrates to irrigate their land, agreeing to offer him one-third of the produce of the land, after taking away the usual tithe for the government.^[30] Maslamah consented and dug the canal called Nahr Maslamah; and the people lived up to their promise. Moreover, Maslamah repaired and strengthened the city wall. According to others, Maslamah himself started the idea and proposed the terms.

Bâlis and its villages as fief. At the death of Maslamah, Bâlis with its villages passed into the hands of his heirs, who held them until the appearance of the "blessed dynasty" [Abbasid], at which time ʿAbdallâh ibn-ʿAli confiscated the possessions of the banu-Umayyah, including Bâlis and its villages. Abu-l-Abbâs the "Commander of the Believers," assigned Bâlis and its villages as fief to Sulaimân ibn-ʿAli ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-al-Abbâs, from whom they passed to his son, Muḥammad ibn-Sulaimân. Muḥammad's brother, Jaʿfar ibn-Sulaimân, repeatedly calumniated his brother to ar-Rashîd, the "Commander of the Believers," stating that he used to spend many times the income of the possessions and [crown-] domains he held, for the purpose of attaining his ambition,^[31] and upon the slaves and other dependents he kept. He added that it was legal for the "Commander of the Believers" to appropriate the money of his brother. These letters ar-Rashîd ordered preserved. Now, when Muḥammad died, Jaʿfar's letters were brought out and used as an argument against him. Muḥammad had no other

brother from his father and mother than Ja'far. The latter acknowledged that they were his letters; and so the possessions passed to ar-Rashîd, who gave Bâlis and its villages as fief to al-Ma'mûn, after whom they passed to his son.

Mu'âdh advises against the division of the land. Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr from 'Abdallâh ibn-Ḳais al-Hamdâni:—When 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb came to al-Jâbiyah and wanted to divide the land among the Moslems, on the ground that it was taken by force, Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal objected saying, "By Allah, if thou dividest the land, the result will certainly be unfavorable. The great part will be in the hands of these people, who will pass away, and the whole will become the possession of one man. Others will come after them, who will bravely defend Islâm, but find nothing left. Seek therefore some plan that suits those who come first as well as those who come last." 'Umar acted according to the suggestion of Mu'âdh.

The chief of Buşra tells a lie regarding the tax. Al-Ḥusain ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Aswad al-'Ijli from Salamah-l-Juhani's uncle:—The chief of Buşra recounted that he had capitulated to the Moslems, agreeing to offer food, oil and vinegar. 'Umar asked that a statement be written down to that effect; but abu-'Ubaidah showed that the chief of Buşra was telling an untruth and said, "The fact is that we made terms by which certain things should be sent to the winter quarters of the Moslems." Then 'Umar decreed that a poll-tax be assessed graded according to the various classes,^[32] and that *kharâj* be imposed upon the land.

'Umar fixes the tax. Al-Ḥusain from Aslam, a freedman of 'Umar:—'Umar wrote to the tax-collectors instructing them to levy poll-tax only on those who were adult, and he fixed it at four *dînârs* on those who possessed gold. He also assessed on them a subsistence tax by which each Moslem in Syria and Mesopotamia would receive two modii of wheat, and three *kis̄s* of oil, and the right to be entertained as a guest for three days.

The tithe-lands of Syria. Abu-Ḥafṣ ash-Shâmi from Makḥûl^[33]:—Every piece of "tithe-land" in Syria is one whose people had evacuated it, and which had been given as fief to the Moslems, who, by the permission of the governors, cultivated it after it had lain as waste land claimed by no one.

Footnotes

1. Ar. *istakrâha*, Caetani, vol. iii, p. 790, translates: "rinovo con gli abitanti il primitivo trattato."
2. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2393.
3. "A place where people alight and take up their abode by a constant source of water," T. 'A. Cf. Wâḳidi, *Futûḥ*, vol. ii, pp. 35–39.
4. Cf. Yâḳût, vol. iv, p. 184.
5. Mawardi, p. 240 seq.
6. *Mushtarik*, p. 118.
7. In which many atrocities were committed by both parties. See "*Annotations on al-Kâmûs*," by Muḥammad ibn-aṭ-Ṭaiyib al-Fâsi.
8. *Mushtarik*, p. 317; Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 730.
9. Ar. *aughara*. See Zaidân, vol. ii, p. 133.

10. One of the pre-Islamic gods.
11. "Misrân" used for the last two localities.
12. De Goeje, gloss, to *Biblio. Geog. Arab.*, vol. iv, pp. 352–353; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, vol. i, p. 31.
13. Ar. *wakf*.
14. Known also as Maʿarrat Kinnasrîn and Maʿarrat Naṣrîn. *Yâkût*, vol. iv, p. 574.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 83.
16. Lammens, *MFO*, vol. i, p. 242; *Yâkût*, vol. iv, p. 487.
17. or Ṭûzîn. *Yâkût*, vol. i, p. 907.
18. ? No diacritical points.
19. Yaʿkûbi, *Buldân*, p. 363; Rustah, p. 107.
20. Jibrîn or Jibrîn Kuraṣṭâya. *Yâkût*, vol. ii, p. 19.
21. or Tall ʿAzâz. *Yâkût*, vol. iii, p. 667.
22. The word is uncertain, *cf.* "Şorqanié, Surkanyâ" in Lammens, "Villages Yézidis," *MFO*, vol. ii, p. 382.
23. Ar. *ṭâliʿah*, 1,500–2,000 men who came in spring and returned in winter.
24. *Zaidân*, vol. i, p. 120.
25. The one after whom Ḥiṣn Ziyâd was named; *Yâkût*, vol. ii, p. 276.
26. Ar *thughûr*; *Zaidân*, vol. i, pp. 153–155.
27. *Yâkût*, vol. i, p. 315; *Mushtarik*, p. 142.
28. Sometimes ʿArshîn; Lammens, *MFO*, vol. i, p. 240, note 3.
29. *Yâkût*, vol. iv, p. 16.
30. Ar. *Sulṭân*.
31. The caliphate; *Athîr*, vol. vi, p. 82.
32. De Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 150.
33. *Ḥajar*, vol. iii, p. 935.

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CHAPTER XIII

CYPRUS

The first conquest of Cyprus. According to al-Wâkidi and others, the first expedition against Cyprus was led in sea by Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân. This was the first time the Moslems sailed in the Mediterranean. Mu'âwiyah had asked 'Umar's permission to lead a naval expedition, but 'Umar refused.^[1] When 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân became caliph, Mu'âwiyah wrote again asking permission to invade Cyprus, informing him about its proximity and the ease of acquiring it. In answer to this, 'Uthmân wrote, "I have seen the answer 'Umar gave when thou madest the request from him to lead a sea-expedition." In the year 27, Mu'âwiyah again wrote to 'Uthmân, referring to the ease with which the sea could be crossed to Cyprus. 'Uthmân wrote back this time saying, "If thou sailest with thy wife, we allow thee to do so; otherwise, not." Accordingly, Mu'âwiyah embarked from Acre with a large number of ships, accompanied by his wife Fâkhithah daughter of Ẓarāḥah^[2] ibn-'Abd-'Amr ibn-Naufal ibn-'Abd-Manâf ibn-Ḳuṣai. Likewise, 'Ubâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit took his wife umm-Ḥarâm of the *Anṣâr*, daughter of Milhan. This took place in the year 28, after the cessation of the rainy season; others say, in the year 29. When the Moslems arrived in Cyprus and landed on its shore (Cyprus being an island 80x80 parasangs), its Archon [Urkûn] demanded to make terms of capitulation, which was considered unavoidable by the people. Mu'âwiyah made terms with them on 7,200 *dînârs* to be paid annually by them. Similar terms had been made with them by the Greeks. Thus the people of Cyprus pay two tributes. It was made a condition that the Moslems would not prevent them from paying the tribute to the Greeks; on the other hand the Moslems made it a condition that they would not fight^[3] those who may come after them to subjugate the Cyprians, and that the Cyprians would keep the Moslems informed regarding the movement of their enemy—the Greeks. Thus when the Moslems used to undertake an expedition by sea, they did not molest the Cyprians. They were not supported by the Cyprians; nor did the Cyprians support any one against them.

The second invasion by Mu'âwiyah. In the year 32, however, the Cyprians offered ships as an aid to the Greeks in an expedition in the sea. Consequently, Mu'âwiyah invaded them in the year 33 with 500 ships. He took Cyprus by force, slaughtering and taking prisoners. He then confirmed them in the terms that were previously made, and sent to the island 12,000 men of those whose names were recorded in the register [Ar. *dîwân*]^[4] and erected mosques in it. Moreover, Mu'âwiyah transplanted from

Ba'labakk a group of men, and erected a city on the island, whose inhabitants were assigned special stipends until the death of Mu'âwiyah. His son Yazîd, who succeeded him, sent the troops back and ordered the city destroyed.

According to other reports, the second invasion of Cyprus by Mu'âwiyah was carried out in the year 35.

Why Yazîd withdrew the troops. Muḥammad ibn-Muṣaffa-l-Ḥimṣi from al-Walîd:—Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah was offered a large and considerable sum of money as bribe; and that was why he withdrew the troops from Cyprus, upon which the Cyprians destroyed their city and Mosques.

Umm-Ḥarâm dies in Cyprus. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Abd-as-Salâm ibn-Mûsa's father:—When Cyprus was invaded for the first time, umm-Ḥarâm, daughter of Milhân, sailed with her husband, 'Ubâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit. On their arrival in Cyprus, she disembarked and was offered a mule to ride upon. As she was riding, the mule stumbled; and she was killed. Her tomb in Cyprus is called "the Tomb of the Righteous Woman."^[5]

Some of those who took part in the campaign. Among those who joined the campaign with Mu'âwiyah were the following:—Abu-Aiyûb Khâlîd ibn-Zaid ibn-Kulaib al-Anṣâri, abu-ad-Dardâ', abu-Dharr al-Ghifâri, 'Ubâdah ibn-aṣ-Ṣâmit, Faḍâlah ibn-'Ubaid al-Anṣâri, 'Umair ibn-Sa'd ibn-'Ubaid al-Anṣâri, Wâthilah ibn-al-Asḳa' al-Kinânî, 'Abdallâh ibn-Bishr al-Mâzini, Shaddâd ibn-Aus ibn-Thâbit (a nephew of Ḥassân ibn-Thâbit), al-Mikdâd, Ka'b al-Ḥabr ibn-Mâti^[6] and Jubair ibn-Nufair al-Ḥaḍrami.

Mu'âwiyah makes permanent peace. Hishâm ibn-'Ammâr ad-Dimashḳi from Ṣafwân ibn-'Amr:—Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân personally carried out the invasion of Cyprus and was accompanied by his wife. Its conquest, effected by Allah, was complete; and the booty he brought to the Moslems was great. The raids of the Moslems were repeated until Mu'âwiyah in his caliphate concluded permanent terms with the Cyprians to the effect that they pay 7,000 *dînârs* and give advice and warnings to the Moslems regarding their enemy, the Greeks. This or something like it was agreed upon.

The Cyprians expelled and returned. Al-Walîd ibn-Yazîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik expelled many of the Cyprians to Syria, because of a charge of suspicion brought against them. When the Moslems disapproved of the act, Yazîd ibn-al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik returned them to their home. In the caliphate of ar-Rashîd, an invasion was led against them by Ḥumaid ibn-Ma'yûf al-Hamdâni because of a rebellion they had started; and many were carried off as prisoners. Later they behaved properly towards the Moslems; and, by ar-Rashîd's orders, their prisoners were returned.

The tax increased. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi:—The terms between Mu'âwiyah and the Cyprians were kept in force until the time of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân who added 1,000 *dînârs* to their tax. That was the case until the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz who cancelled the addition. When Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, however, came to power, he restored it; and it was kept until the caliphate of abu-Ja'far al-Manṣûr, who expressed himself as follows: "We shall, above everyone else, do justice to them, and not enrich ourselves by oppressing them." Accordingly, he restored the terms made by Mu'âwiyah.

'Abd-al-Malik wants to annul the treaty. The following was communicated to me by certain Syrian scholars and abu-'Ubaid al-Kâsim ibn-Sallâm:—During the governorship of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Şâlih ibn-'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Abbâs over the frontier cities [Ar. *thughûr*], the Cyprians started a rebellion; and he, therefore, desired to break the covenant made with them. The canonists were numerous, among whom were the following whose opinions he sought: al-Laith ibn-Sa'd, Mâlik ibn-Anas, Sufyân ibn-'Uyainah, Mûsa ibn-A'yan, Ismâ'il ibn-'Aiyâsh, Yahya ibn-Ḥamzah, abu-Ishâk al-Fazâri, and Makhlad ibn-al-Ḥusain. They all answered him.

The opinion of al-Laith. The following is a quotation from the letter of al-Laith ibn-Sa'd: "The Cyprians are being constantly charged by us with infidelity to Moslems and loyalty to Allah's enemies, the Greeks. Allah himself has said:^[7] 'Or if thou fear treachery from any people, cast off their treaty in like manner.' He did not say, 'cast not off their treaty until thou art sure of their treachery.' I, therefore, consider it best that thou castest off their treaty and givest them a respite of one year for enforcing the law. Those of them who desire to go and settle in a Moslem land and become *dhimmis*, paying the *kharâj*, may do so; those who desire to emigrate to the land of the Greeks may do so; and those who desire to remain in Cyprus, with the understanding they are hostile, may do so and be considered an enemy to be fought and attacked. To give them a respite of one year would be enough to refute any protest they may make, and to prove our loyalty to the covenant."

The opinion of Mâlik. The following statement was written by Mâlik ibn-Anas:—"Our peace with the Cyprians is of old standing and carefully observed [? Ar. *mutazâhar*] by the governors placed over them, because they considered the terms a humiliation and belittlement to the Cyprians, and a source of strength to the Moslems, in view of the tax paid to them and the chance they had of attacking their enemy. Yet I know of no governor who broke their terms or expelled them from their city. I, therefore, consider it best to hesitate in breaking their covenant and casting off their treaty until the evidence [of disloyalty] is well established against them, for Allah says:^[8] 'Observe, therefore, the engagement with them through the whole time of their treaty.' If, after that, they do not behave properly and abandon their deceit, and thou art convinced of their perfidy, then thou mayest attack them. In that case, the attack would be justified and would be crowned with success; and they would suffer humiliation and disgrace, by Allah's will."

The opinion of Sufyân ibn-'Uyainah. This is what Sufyân ibn-'Uyainah wrote: "We know of no one who made a covenant with the Prophet and violated it, without having the Prophet consider it legal to put him to death, except the people of Makkah. Their case was a favor on the part of the Prophet. Their violation consisted in rendering aid to their allies against the Khuzâ'ah, the Prophet's allies. One of the terms stipulated against the people of Najrân was not to practise usury; but when they did practise it, 'Umar decreed that they be expelled. Thus by 'the consensus of opinion' [Ar. *ijmâ*], he who violates a covenant forfeits the right of being entitled to security."

The opinion of Mûsa ibn-A'yan. Mûsa ibn-A'yan wrote:—"Similar cases took place in the past, but in each case the governors would grant a period of respite; and so far as I know, none of the early men ever broke a covenant with the Cyprians or any other people. It may be that the common people and the mass among the Cyprians had no hand in what their leaders did. I, therefore, consider it best to abide by the covenant and fulfil the conditions thereof, in spite of what they have done. I have heard al-Auzâ'i say regarding the case of some, who, after making terms with the Moslems, conveyed information about their secret things and pointed them out to the 'unbelievers': 'If they

are *dhimmis*, they have thereby violated their covenant and forfeited their claim on security, making it right for the governor to kill or crucify them, if he so desires; but if they had been taken by capitulation and are not entitled to the Moslem's security, then the governor would cast off their treaty, for Allah loveth not the machinations of the deceivers.^[9]"

Ismâ'îl ibn-Aiyâsh's opinion. The following is what Ismâ'îl ibn-Aiyâsh wrote: "The people of Cyprus are humiliated and oppressed and they are subjugated, together with their wives, by the Greeks. It is therefore proper for us to defend and protect them. In the covenant of the people of Tafflîs, Habîb ibn-Maslamah wrote, 'In case something should arise to divert the attention of the Moslems from you and some enemy should subjugate you, that would not be a violation of your covenant, so long as ye keep loyal to the Moslems.' I, therefore, consider it best that they be left on their covenant and the security promised them, especially because when al-Walîd ibn-Yazîd expelled them to Syria, the Moslems considered the act outrageous, and the canonists disapproved of it; so much so that when Yazîd ibn-al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik came to power, he restored them to Cyprus, which act was approved of by the Moslems and considered just."

Yahya ibn-Hamzah's opinion. The following was the statement issued by Yahya ibn-Hamzah: "The case of Cyprus is parallel to that of 'Arbassûs^[10] in which it has a good example and a precedent to be followed. This is the case of 'Arbassûs: 'Umair ibn-Sa'd once came to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaţţâb saying, 'here lies between us and the Greeks a city called 'Arbassûs, whose people disclose to our enemy our secrets, but do not disclose to us our enemy's.' 'Umar replied, 'When thou goest there, propose to give them for every ewe they possess two; for every cow, two; and for everything, two. If they consent, give that to them, expel them from the city and raze it to the ground. But if they refuse, then cast off their treaty to them and give them one year at the expiration of which thou mayest destroy the city.' 'Umair went to the city; and its people refused the offer. He, therefore, gave them one year at the expiration of which he destroyed it. The people of 'Arbassûs had a covenant similar to that of the people of Cyprus. To leave the Cyprians on the terms made with them and to have the Moslems use in their own cause what they receive [as tax] from the Cyprians is preferable. All holders of covenant, for the sake of whom the Moslems are not supposed to fight and on whom the Moslem regulations are not binding, are not *dhimmis* but 'people of tribute'^[11] to be spared so long as they are worthy, to be treated according to the covenant so long as they abide by it and consent to it, and to be forgiven so long as they pay their dues. It is reported that Mu'âdh ibn-Jabal always hated to have the enemy capitulate on definite terms unless the Moslems were by the force of circumstances compelled to make terms, because no one could tell whether such capitulation would be of value and strength for the Moslems."

The opinion of abu-Ishâk and Makhlad. Abu-Ishâk al-Fazâri and Makhlad ibn-al-Husain wrote as follows:—"We can find nothing more similar to the case of Cyprus than the case of 'Arbassûs and the decision of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaţţâb regarding it. 'Umar gave them two alternatives to choose from: a double fold of what they possessed and the evacuation of the city, or a respite of one year after casting off their treaty. Having rejected the former proposition, they were given one year at the end of which the city was destroyed. Al-Auzâ'i repeated a tradition to the effect that when Cyprus was conquered, the *status quo* of the people was kept, and terms were made on 14,000 *dînârs* of which 7,000 should go to the Moslems and 7,000 to the Greeks; and it was stipulated that the Cyprians should not disclose to the Greeks the condition of the Moslems.^[12] Al-Auzâ'i used to say, 'The Cyprians did not abide by the terms they made with us.' But we

consider them as 'people bound to us by covenant,' whose terms of peace involve rights to them and obligations on them, and the violation of which is legal only if they do some thing that shows their perfidy and treachery."

Footnotes

1. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2820–2821.
2. Duraïd, p. 55.
3. Athîr, vol. iii, p. 74.
4. And therefore received stipends; al-Muṭarrizi, *al-Mughrib*, p. 187.
5. *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 81–101.
6. Nawâwî, p. 523; ibn-Ḳutaibah, *Kitâb al-Ma'ârif*, p. 219.
7. Kor., 8: 60.
8. Kor., 9: 4.
9. *Cf.* Kor., 12: 52.
10. Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 633.
11. Ar. *ahl fidyah*, who are governed by their own laws and pay something to be let alone. For *fidyah* see at-Tahânawî, *Kashf Iṣṭilâḥât al-Funûn*, vol. ii, p. 1157.
12. Evidently there is a mistake in the text. The negative particle "*la*" is superfluous.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 14

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SAMARITANS

The terms made by abu-‘Ubaidah. Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr from Şafwân ibn-‘Amr:—Abu-‘Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâh made terms with the Samaritans in the provinces of the Jordan and Palestine, who acted as spies and guides for the Moslems, stipulating that they pay tax on their persons but nothing on their lands. When Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah, however, assumed power he assessed *kharâj* on their lands.

The tax imposed by Yazîd. I was informed by certain men well versed in the conditions of the Jordan and Palestine that Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah assessed *kharâj* on the lands of the Samaritans in the Jordan, and levied on every man two *dînârs* as poll-tax. He also assessed *kharâj* on their lands in Palestine and levied five *dînârs* on every man.

Sects. The Samaritans are Jews and are divided into two classes, one is called ad-Dustân [Dositheans] and the other al-Kûshân.^[1]

Their lands become crown-land. There was in Palestine in the early part of the caliphate of ar-Rashîd a devastating plague which in some cases would attack all the members of a household. As a result, their land was rendered waste and useless. Ar-Rashîd put it in charge of some who cultivated it and [by gifts] attracted the farmers and tenants into it, thus making it crown domains. In these places the Samaritans lived. One of those villages called Bait-Mâma, which lay in the district of Nâbulus and whose inhabitants were Samaritans, made a complaint in the year to the effect that they were poor and unable to pay the five-*dînâr kharâj*, upon which al-Mutawakkil gave orders that it be reduced again to three.

Mu‘âwiyah spares the hostages. Hishâm ibn-‘Ammâr from Şafwân ibn-‘Amr and Sa‘îd ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azîz:—The Greeks made peace with Mu‘âwiyah with the stipulation that he pay them a certain sum of money. Mu‘âwiyah took hostages from them and held them in Ba‘labakk. The Greeks proved perfidious to Mu‘âwiyah, but still the Moslems did not consider it legal to put the hostages in their hands to death; and so they set them free, saying, "Loyalty against perfidy is better than perfidy against perfidy." According to Hishâm, al-Auzâ‘î, among other authorities, maintains the same view.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. iv, p. 371; *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s. v. "Samaritans"; J. A. Montgomery, *History of the Samaritans*, p. 253 seq. De Sacy. *Chrestom.*, vol. i. pp. 305, 341–344.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 15

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CHAPTER XV

AL-JARÂJIMAH

The treaty with al-Jarâjimah. I am informed by certain *sheikhs* from Antioch that al-Jarâjimah^[1] were the inhabitants of a town called al-Jurjûmah^[2] lying between Baîyâs and Bûka on mount al-Lukâm [Amanus] near Ma‘din az-Zâj [vitriol pit]. While the Greeks held the authority over Syria and Antioch, the Jarâjimah were under the rule of the patrician and governor of Antioch. When abu-‘Ubaidah came and reduced Antioch, they confined themselves to their city and, in their anxiety to save their lives, they tried to go and join the Greeks. The Moslems took no note of them, nor did any one call their attention to them. When later the people of Antioch violated their covenant and acted treacherously, abu-‘Ubaidah sent and conquered Antioch once more, after which he made Ḥabîb ibn-Maslamah-l-Fihri its governor. Ḥabîb attacked al-Jurjûmah, whose people did not resist but immediately sought for peace and capitulation. Terms were made providing that al-Jarâjimah would act as helpers to the Moslems, and as spies and frontier garrison in Mount al-Lukâm. On the other hand it was stipulated that they pay no tax, and that they keep for themselves the booty^[3] they take from the enemy in case they fight with the Moslems. In these terms were included besides the Jarâjimah all those who lived in their city, as well as the merchants, employees and dependents, whether Nabateans or not, together with the inhabitants of the villages. These were called "*ar-Rawâdîf*"^[4] because they were included in the terms with the Jarâjimah though not of their number. Others say they were so called because they came riding behind al-Jarâjimah when the latter presented themselves in the Moslem camp. On certain occasions, al-Jarâjimah acted properly with respect to the [Moslem] governors; but on others, they deviated from the right path and held friendly communications with the Greeks.

‘Abd-al-Malik agrees to pay them a certain sum. In the days of ibn-az-Zubair, when Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam died and ‘Abd-al-Malik, who was appointed by Marwân as heir-apparent, wished to succeed Marwân in the caliphate and was ready to leave for al-‘Irâk to fight against al-Muṣ‘ab ibn-az-Zubair, certain Greek horsemen went forth to Mt. al-Lukâm under a Greek leader and started for the Lebanon, after having been joined by a large body of al-Jarâjimah, Nabateans, and runaway slaves once possessed by the Moslems. Under these conditions, ‘Abd-al-Malik had to make terms with them, agreeing to pay 1,000 *dînârs* per week. He also made terms with the Greek "tyrant," agreeing to pay him a sum of money, because ‘Abd-al-Malik was too busy to fight against him, and because he feared that in case the "tyrant" came to Syria, he might overpower him. In

this, he followed the precedent of Mu‘âwiyah who, being engaged in the fight in al-‘Irâk, agreed to pay something to them [the Greeks], and took hostages from them, whom he held in Ba‘labakk. All this synchronized with the attempt made by ‘Amr ibn-Sa‘îd ibn-al-‘Âṣi to secure the caliphate and his closing the gates of Damascus immediately after ‘Abd-al-Malik had left the city, which made ‘Abd-al-Malik still more busy. This took place in the year 70.

Suḥaim slays the Greek general. After that, ‘Abd-al-Malik sent to the Greek leader Suḥaim ibn-al-Muhâjir who, in disguise and through gentle behavior, succeeded in reaching him. Suḥaim played the act of a friend and won the favor of the leader by censuring ‘Abd-al-Malik, cursing him and dwelling on his weak points; so much so that the leader put full confidence in Suḥaim and was wholly deceived. At the favorable moment, however, Suḥaim fell upon him with a band of troops and freedmen of ‘Abd-al-Malik, who had been previously prepared for the attack and stationed in a convenient place, and killed him together with the Greeks who were with him. Suḥaim thereupon announced publicly a promise of security to those who had joined the Greek leader. Accordingly, the Jarâjimah were partly scattered among the villages of Ḥimṣ and Damascus; but the majority returned to their city on al-Lukâm. In like manner, the Nabateans returned to their villages, and the slaves to their masters.

Maimûn al-Jurjumâni. One of these slaves was Maimun al-Jurjumâni, a Greek slave, who belonged to the banu-umm-al-Ḥakam (umm-al-Ḥakam being the sister of Mu‘âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân) who were of the tribe of Thakîf. The slave was named after al-Jarâjimah, because he mixed with them and rebelled with them in Mt. Lebanon. Hearing of his strength and valor, ‘Abd-al-Malik asked his masters to set him free, which they did. He was then put by ‘Abd-al-Malik at the head of a regiment of troops and stationed at Antioch. With 1,000 men from Antioch, he and Maslamah ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik led an invasion to at-Ṭuwânah.^[5] After fighting valiantly and standing gallantly, he fell a martyr. This so much grieved ‘Abd-al-Malik that he sent a large army against the Greeks to avenge his death.

{ul|*Al-Walîd makes terms with them*}}. In the year 89, al-Jarâjimah gathered themselves into their city and were joined by a host of Greeks from Alexandretta [Iskandarûnah] and Rûsis.^[6] Consequently, al-Walîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik sent against them Maslamah ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, who fell upon them with a host of Moslems and reduced their city on the following terms: Al-Jarâjimah may settle wherever they wished in Syria, each one of them receiving eight *dînârs*, and each family receiving the fixed provisions of wheat and oil, *i. e.*, two modii of wheat and two *ḳiṣts* of oil; neither they nor any of their children or women should be compelled to leave Christianity; they may put on Moslem dress; and no poll-tax may be assessed on them, their children or women. On the other hand, they should take part in the Moslem campaigns and be allowed to keep for themselves the booty from those whom they kill in a duel; and the same amount taken from the possession of the Moslems should be taken [as tax] from their articles of trade and from the possessions of the wealthy among them. Then Maslamah destroyed their city and settled them in Mt. al-Ḥûwâr, Sunḥ al-Lûlûn [?] and ‘Amḳ Tîẓîn. Some of them left for Ḥimṣ. The patrician of al-Jurjûmah accompanied by a body of men, after taking up his abode in Antioch fled to the Byzantine Empire.

Al-Wâthik cancels the poll-tax. When a certain f ‘âmil held al-Jarâjimah of Antioch responsible for poll-tax, they brought their case before al-Wâthik-Billâh at the time of his caliphate, and he ordered it cancelled.

Al-Mutawakkil levies tax. I was informed by a writer in whom I have full confidence that al-Mutawakkil ordered that poll-tax be levied on these Jarâjimah and that the regular allowance for food be given them, because, among other things, they were of value in the frontier garrisons.

Al-Jarâjimah molest the summer expeditions. It is claimed by abu-l-Khaṭṭâb al-Azdi that in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik, the people of al-Jurjûmah used to make razzias against the villages of Antioch and al-'Amḳ; and whenever the summer expedition was carried out, al-Jarâjimah would cut off those who lagged behind or followed, together with any whom they could cut off at the rear of the army. They went so far against the Moslems that, by 'Abd-al-Malik's orders, certain people from Antioch and some Nabateans were given stipends, placed as garrisons and set behind the armies of the summer expeditions in order to repel al-Jarâjimah from the rear. Therefore those set behind the armies of the summer expedition were called *rawâḏif*, i. e., followers, and to every one of them eight dinars were assigned. The former account is more authentic.

Az-Zuṭṭ. Abu-Ḥafs ash-Shâmi from Makḥûl:—Mu'âwiyah transplanted in the year 49 or 50 to the seacoast some of the Zuṭṭ and Sayâbijah^[7] of al-Baṣrah, and made some of them settle in Antioch. According to abu-Ḥafs, there is in Antioch a quarter known by the name of az-Zuṭṭ. Some of their descendants are in Bûḳa in the province of Antioch and are known by the name of az-Zuṭṭ.

Some of the Zuṭṭ of as-Sind^[8] were carried by Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim to al-Ḥajjâj, who sent them to Syria, and were later transplanted by al-Walîd ibn-'Abd-al-Malik to Antioch.

Lebanon rebels. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi:—Some people in Lebanon rebelled, complaining of the collector of the *kharâj* of Ba'labakk. This made Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Ali ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Abbâs send against them troops who destroyed their fighting power, and the rest were allowed to retain their [Christian] faith. Ṣâliḥ sent the latter back to their villages and expelled some of the natives of Lebanon. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm related to me on the authority of Muḥammad ibn-Kathîr that Ṣâliḥ received a long communication from al-Auzâ'i, of which the following extract has been preserved: "Thou hast heard of the expulsion of the *dhimmis* from Mt. Lebanon, although they did not side with those who rebelled, and of whom many were killed by thee and the rest returned to their villages. How didst thou then punish the many for the fault of the few and make them leave their homes and possessions in spite of Allah's decree:^[9] 'Nor shall any sinning one bear the burden of another,' which is the most rightful thing to abide by and follow! The command worthy of the strictest observance and obedience is that of the Prophet who says, 'If one oppresses a man bound to us by covenant and charges him with more than he can do, I am the one to overcome him by arguments.'"^[10] To this he added other citations.

The frontier and littoral towns fortified. Muḥammad ibn-Sahm al-Anṭâki from abu-Ishâḳ al-Fazâri:—The banu-Umayyah used to direct their summer and winter campaigns against the Greeks beyond the frontier cities of Syria and Mesopotamia by means of Syrians and Mesopotamians, and they used to station the ships for the invasion and to post the guard on the coast, giving up or delaying the invasion at the time in which the enemy was strong and wide awake [?]. When abu-Ja'far al-Manṣûr began his rule, he examined the forts and cities of the coast, peopled and fortified them, and rebuilt those of them that were in need of being rebuilt. The same thing he did with the frontier cities.

When al-Mahdi became caliph, he carried the work in the remaining cities and forts to completion and strengthened the garrisons. Mu'âwiyah ibn-ʿAmr states, "What we saw of the efforts of Hârûn the 'Commander of the Believers' in conducting invasions, and of his penetrating insight in carrying on the holy war was really great. The industries he established were not established heretofore. He distributed possessions in the frontier and coast cities. He brought distress on the Greeks and humiliated them." Caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered in the year 247 that ships be stationed on all the seacoast and that garrisons be posted on it.

Footnotes

1. Less correctly Jurâjimah. They are identical with the Mardaïtes; Lammens, *MFO*, vol. i, p. 17.
2. *Encyclopaedia of Islâm*, vol. i, s. v., "Djarâdjima".
3. Ar. *nafl*. See Muṭarrizi, p. 80.
4. Followers, dependents.
5. Yâḵût, vol. iii, p. 554.
6. Yâḵût, vol. ii, p. 840.
7. *Kâmil*, p. 41, line 3; p. 82, line 17; De Goeje, *Mémoires sur les Migrations des Tsiganes*, pp. 1–32, 86–91.
8. Ḥauḳal, p. 226.
9. Kor., 6: 164.
10. As-Suyûti, *Kanz al-ʿUmmâl*, I, 270.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 2/Chapter 16

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CHAPTER XVI

THE FRONTIER FORTRESSES^[1] OF SYRIA

Moslem razzias beyond the frontiers. I was informed by certain *sheikhs* from Antioch and by others that in the days of 'Umar and 'Uthmân, and after their time, the frontier cities of Syria included Antioch and other cities called later al-'Awâşim by ar-Rashîd. The Moslems used to lead their raids beyond these cities as they now raid what is beyond Ṭarsûs. Between Alexandretta and Ṭarsûs lay Greek forts and frontier garrisons, similar to those through which the Moslems now pass, and the inhabitants of which would sometimes, because of fear, leave them and flee to the Byzantine Empire, and sometimes, Byzantine fighters would be brought and stationed in them. It is said that when Heraclius left Antioch, he joined to himself the people of these towns, so that the Moslems might not be able to go between Antioch and the land of the Byzantines through a cultivated land.

Ibn-Ṭaibûn^[2] al-Baghrâsi from certain *sheikhs*:—The latter said, "What is known to us is that Heraclius moved the men from these forts, which he shattered. So, when the Moslems made their raids, they found them vacant. In certain cases the Greeks would make an ambush by these forts and take by surprise those of the army who were held back or cut off. Thus the leaders of the summer and winter campaigns, on entering the Greek land, would leave heavy troops in these forts until their return."

The first to pass through ad-Darb. Regarding the first one to cross ad-Darb,^[3] i. e., Darb Baghrâs^[4] there is a disagreement. Some assert that the first was Maisarah ibn-Masrûk al-'Absi who was despatched by abu-'Ubaidah ibn-al-Jarrâh and who met a host of Greeks accompanied by the "naturalized" [*musta'ribah*] Arabs of the Ghassân, Tanûkh and Iyâd, trying to follow Heraclius [in Asia Minor]. Maisarah fell upon them and wrought a bloody massacre among them. He was later joined by Mâlik al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i sent as a reinforcement by abu-'Ubaidah from Antioch.

According to others, the first to cross ad-Darb was 'Umar ibn-Sa'd al-Anşâri, when he was sent in connection with the case of Jabalah ibn-al-Aiham.

According to abu-l-Khaṭṭâb al-Azdi, abu-'Ubaidah himself led the summer expedition passing through al-Maşşîṣah and then through Ṭarsûs whose people, together with those of the fortified cities lying beyond, had evacuated their places. Thus abu-'Ubaidah

entered the land of the [Greek] enemy and carried his campaign as far as Zandah. According to others, abu-ʿUbaidah did not himself go, but sent Maisarah ibn-Masrûk, who reached as far as Zandah.

Mu ʿâwiyah and the forts. Abu-Şâlih al-Farrâ' from one supposed by him to have been ʿUbâdah ibn-Nusai:—When Mu ʿâwiyah in the year 25 invaded ʿAmmûriyah [Amorium], he found the forts between Antioch and Tarsûs all vacant. He therefore left in those forts some men from Syria, Mesopotamia and ʿKinnasrîn until he had finished his expedition. One or two years later, he sent Yazîd ibn-al-Ḥurr al-ʿAbsi at the head of the summer expedition and instructed him to do the same thing, which Yazîd did. All the governors used to do the same.

The same authority says, "I read in the book of *Maghâzi Mu ʿâwiyah* [Mu ʿâwiyah's campaigns] that Mu ʿâwiyah in the year 31 led an invasion setting out from near al-Maṣṣîṣah and penetrating as far as Daraulîyah. On his return, he destroyed all the fortresses [belonging to the Greeks] between the latter place and Antioch.

Al-Maṣṣîṣah. Muḥammad ibn-Saʿd from al-Wâkidi and others:—In the year 84, ʿAbdallâh ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân led the summer campaign, entered through the Darb Anţâkiyah and reached al-Maṣṣîṣah [Mopsuestia], where he rebuilt the fort on its old foundations. In this city, he caused troops to settle, among whom were 300 chosen from those known to be among the most valorous and strong. The Moslems had never lived in this town before. He also built a mosque in it over Tall al-Ḥiṣn [the hill of the fort], and then led his army to the invasion of Sinân fort, which he reduced. He then sent Yazîd ibn-Ḥunain at-Ṭâʾi-l-Anţâki who led an incursion and returned.

Abu-l-Khaṭṭâb al-Azdi holds that the first Moslem to build the fort of al-Maṣṣîṣah^[5] was ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân through his son ʿAbdallâh in the year 84 on its old foundation. Its building and manning were completed in the year 85. In this fortified town stood a church which was converted into a granary. The troops [Ar. *ṭawâli*] from Antioch, numbering 1,500–2,000, used to go up to it every year and spend the winter in it, at the end of which they would leave.

When ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz came to the granary of al-Maṣṣîṣah, he wanted to destroy the town together with the forts that lay between it and Antioch saying, "I hate to see the Greeks besieging its people." When he, however, learned that the town was built to check the Greek advance on Antioch, and that, in case it was destroyed, nothing would remain to stop the enemy from taking Antioch, he desisted and erected for its people a cathedral mosque in the Kafarbaiya quarter. In the mosque, he made a cistern whereon his name was inscribed. In the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim-Billâh, the mosque, which was called Masjîd al-Ḥiṣn [the fort mosque], fell into ruins.

Hishâm ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik built the part outside the city wall [Ar. *rabaḍ*]; and Marwân ibn-Muḥammad built, to the east of Jaiḥân,^[6] al-Khuṣûṣ [wood houses], around which he erected a wall with a wooden gate, and dug a moat.

When abu-l-ʿAbbâs became caliph, he assigned stipends for 400 men to be added to the garrison at al-Maṣṣîṣah, and distributed fiefs among them. When al-Manşûr became caliph, he assigned stipends for 400 men at al-Maṣṣîṣah. In the year 139, al-Manşûr ordered that the city of al-Maṣṣîṣah, the wall of which had become shattered by earthquakes and whose population within the walls had become few in number, be well populated. Accordingly, in the year 140, he built the wall of the city, made its inhabitants

settle in it and called it al-Ma'mûrah. Moreover, al-Manşûr erected a cathedral mosque in it on the site of a heathen temple, and made it many times the size of the mosque of 'Umar. Al-Ma'mûn enlarged the mosque in the governorship of 'Abdallâh ibn-Ṭâhir ibn-al-Ḥusain over al-Maghrib. Al-Manşûr assigned stipends for 1,000 men of its inhabitants. Besides, he transplanted [into it] the inhabitants of al-Khuṣûṣ, who were Persians, Slavs and Christian Nabateans—all of whom were settled in al-Khuṣûṣ by Marwân—gave them in it lots marked for dwellings in exchange for and of the same measure as their old homes, pulled down their old dwellings and helped them to build the new ones. To these soldiers, who received stipends, al-Manşûr gave fiefs and dwellings.

When al-Mahdi became caliph, he assigned stipends for 2,000 men at al-Maṣṣîṣah but gave them no fiefs, because the city was already manned with troops and volunteers. The periodical contingents [*ṭawâli*] used to come from Antioch every year until the city was governed by Sâlim al-Barallusi, who assigned in their place^[7] stipends for 500 fighters, making a special rate of 10 *dînârs* for each. Thus the people of the city were multiplied and strengthened. This took place when al-Mahdi held the caliphate.

Muḥammad ibn-Sahm from the *sheikhs* of the frontier region:—In the days of the "blessed dynasty", the Greeks pressed the inhabitants of al-Maṣṣîṣah so hard that they left the city. After that Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Ali sent to it Jabril ibn-Yaḥya-l-Bajali who peopled it and made Moslems settle in it in the year 140. Ar-Rashîd^[8] built Kafarbaiya; but according to others it was begun in the caliphate of al-Mahdi, and ar-Rashîd changed the plan of its construction and fortified it with a moat. Its inhabitants complained to al-Ma'mûn concerning the rent^[9] paid for the houses therein, and he abolished it. The houses were like inns. By order of al-Ma'mûn, a wall was commenced around the city and raised high, but not completed before his death. Al-Mu'taṣim-Billâh ordered that the wall be finished and raised to its proper height.

Al-Muthakḳab. Al-Muthakḳab^[10] was fortified by Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik who entrusted the work to Ḥassân ibn-Mâhawaih al-Anṭâki. As the moat was being dug, a leg-bone of extraordinary length was found and sent to Hishâm.

Ḳaṭarghâsh, Mûrah and Baghrâs. Hishâm also had Ḳaṭarghâsh fort built by 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-Ḥaiyân al-Anṭâki. He also had Mûrah fort erected by a man from Antioch. This last fort was built because the Greeks had interfered with one of his messengers at Darb al-Lukâm near al-'Aḳabah-l-Baiḍa. In this fort, he stationed forty men and a body of al-Jarâjimah. In Baghrâs [Pagrae]. he established a garrison of fifty men and built a fort for it. Hishâm, moreover, built the Bûḳa fort in the province of Antioch, which was recently renewed and repaired.

After the Greeks had made a raid on the littoral of the province of Antioch in the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim-Billâh, a fort was built on that littoral by Muḥammad ibn-Yûsuf al-Marwazi, surnamed abu-Sa'îd.

'Umar intends to destroy al-Maṣṣîṣah. Dâ'ûd ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥamîd, the *kâḍi* of ar-Raḳḳah, from a grandfather of his:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz intended to destroy al-Maṣṣîṣah and move its inhabitants because they suffered so much from the Greeks; but he died before he could accomplish it.

'Aḳabat an-Nisâ'. I was informed by certain men from Antioch and Baghrâs that when Maslamah ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik invaded ʿAmmûriyah, he took his wives with him; and other men in his army did the same. The banu-Umayyah used to do that in order to infuse enthusiasm in the army by making them jealous for their harem. As Maslamah was passing through ʿAkabat^[11] Baghrâs on a narrow road that bordered on a valley, a stretcher in which a woman was carried fell down to the foot of the mountain. This made Maslamah order that all women should go on foot. So they did; and that ʿAḳabat was, therefore, called "'Aḳabat an-Nisâ'" [the women's ʿAḳabat]. Previous to this, al-Muʿtaṣim had built on the edge of that road a low stone wall.

The roads of Antioch cleared of lions by means of buffaloes. It was stated by abu-an-Nuʿmân al-Anṭâki that the road between Antioch and al-Maṣṣîṣah was frequented by lions which molested the passers-by. When al-Walîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik came to rule, the complaint was made to him, and he sent 4,000 buffaloes by which the required result was attained through Allah's help.

Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḳâsim ath-Thaḳafi, the ʿâmil of al-Ḥajjâj over as-Sind, had sent from as-Sind thousands of buffaloes to al-Ḥajjâj, who gave al-Walîd 4,000 of them, and left the rest in the jungles of Kaskar.^[12] When Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab was deposed and killed, and the possessions of the banu-l-Muhallab were confiscated by Yazîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik, the latter carried away 4,000 buffaloes, which were in the districts of Dijlah^[13] and Kaskar. These, too, Yazîd sent to al-Maṣṣîṣah together with az-Zuṭṭ sent there. Thus the buffaloes at al-Maṣṣîṣah were originally 8,000. At the time of the insurrection of Marwân ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Marwân the people of Antioch and Ḳinnasrîn brought under their control and took possession of many of these animals; but when al-Manṣûr became caliph he ordered that they be restored to al-Maṣṣîṣah. As for the buffaloes of Antioch, they were first brought by az-Zuṭṭ, and so were the first ones of Bûḳa.

Jisr al-Walîd. According to abu-l-Khaṭṭâb, the bridge on the road of Adhanah [Adana] from al-Maṣṣîṣah lay nine miles from the latter, was built in the year 125, and was called Jisr al-Walîd after al-Walîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik, who was slain.

Adhanah. According to abu-an-Nuʿmân al-Anṭâki and others, Adhanah was built in the year 141 or 142 as the Khurâsân troops under Maslamah ibn-Yahya-l-Bajali, and the Syrian troops under Mâlik ibn-Adham al-Bâhili (all sent by Ṣâliḥ ibn-ʿAli) were camping in it.

Saiḥân castle. In the year 165, al-Mahdi sent his son Hârûn ar-Rashîd on an expedition to the Greek Empire. After camping at al-Khalîj, ar-Rashîd went forth and repaired al-Maṣṣîṣah and its mosque, increasing its garrison and arming its inhabitants. He also built the castle which lay by Saiḥân [Sarus river] near Adhanah bridge. Previous to this, al-Manṣûr had sent Ṣâliḥ ibn-ʿAli on an invasion to the Greek Empire, and the latter sent Hilâl ibn-Ḍaigham, at the head of a group of men from Damascus, the Jordan and other places, who built this castle; but the structure not being firm, ar-Rashîd dismantled the castle and rebuilt it.

Abu-Sulaim rebuilds Adhanah. In the year 194^[14] abu-Sulaim Faraj al-Khâdim built Adhanah well and strong, fortified it, and chose men from Khurâsân and others to live in it, giving them an increase of stipends. All that was done by the order of Muḥammad ibn-ar-Rashîd. He also made repairs in Ḳaṣr Saiḥân. When ar-Rashîd died in the year

193, his *âmil* for collecting tithes from the frontier fortresses was abu-Sulaim who was now confirmed in his position by Muḥammad [ibn-ar-Rashîd]. To this abu-Sulaim belonged the residence in Antioch [that bears his name].

Tarsûs and al-Hadath. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi:—In the year 162, al-Ḥasan ibn-Ḳaḥṭabah at-Ṭâ'i invaded the land of the Greeks at the head of an army of the people of Khurâsân, Mauṣil,^[15] and Syria, reinforced by men from al-Yaman and volunteers from al-ʿIrâk and al-Ḥijâz. He started near Ṭarsûs and called the attention of al-Mahdi to the great troubles spared to Islâm, and the good chance it afforded to frustrate and avert the enemies' intrigues and plans by building Ṭarsûs, fortifying it and stationing a garrison in it. In that campaign, al-Ḥasan distinguished himself and subdued the land of the Greeks, and was therefore called ash-Shaiṭân [the devil]. Among his men in the invasion were Mandal al-ʿAnazi—the traditionist of the school of al-Kûfah—and Mu'tamir ibn-Sulaimân al-Baṣri.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Sa'd ibn-al-Ḥasan:—When al-Ḥasan left the land of the Greeks, he camped at Marj [plain of] Ṭarsûs from which he rode to the city, which was then in ruins. After examining it, he went around it in all directions and estimated that it could be inhabited by one hundred thousand.^[16] When he appeared before al-Mahdi, he described the condition of the city and referred to the strength that Islâm and the Moslems would acquire, and to the anger and disappointment that will ensue to the enemy, if the city were rebuilt and manned with a garrison. He also told al-Mahdi something about al-Ḥadath that encouraged him to build it. Accordingly, al-Mahdi ordered him to build Ṭarsûs and start with al-Ḥadath, which was immediately built. Al-Mahdi then ordered that Ṭarsûs be built. In the year 171, ar-Rashîd heard that the Greeks had enjoined one another to set forth to Ṭarsûs in order to fortify it and station troops in it. He therefore sent in the year 171 Harthamah ibn-A'yan as commander of the summer campaign and ordered him to build Ṭarsûs, settle people in it and make it a fortified boundary town^[17] between the two countries. Harthamah did so, putting the work, in accordance with ar-Rashîd's orders, in charge of Faraj ibn-Sulaim al-Khâdim. Faraj put someone in charge, went to Madînat as-Salâm^[18] and sent the first garrison, numbering 3,000, whom he chose from among the people of Khurâsân. The garrison came to Ṭarsûs. He then sent the second garrison that numbered 2,000 men, 1,000 of whom were from al-Maṣṣîṣah and 1,000 from Antioch, promising each man an increment of ten *dînârs* on his original stipend. The second garrison camped with the first at al-Madâ'in near Bâb al-Jihâd, from the beginning of Muḥarram in the year 172, until the construction of the city of Ṭarsûs with its fortification and mosque was completed. Faraj measured the land between the two rivers and found it to be 4,000 lots, each lot being twenty *dhirâ's* square. These lots he gave as fiefs to the inhabitants of Ṭarsûs. In Rabî' II, 172, the two garrisons settled in the city.

Yazîd ibn-Makhlad governor of Ṭarsûs. ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Ṣâliḥ appointed Yazîd ibn-Makhlad al-Fazâri as *âmil* over Ṭarsûs. Those of the inhabitants who came from Khurâsân were afraid of him, because he belonged to the clan of al-Hubairîyah, and drove him from the city. He appointed abu-l-Fawâris to succeed him and ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn-Ṣâliḥ confirmed abu-l-Fawâris in his position. This took place in the year 173.

Sîsîyah. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi:—In the year 194 or 193, the inhabitants of Sîsîyah [or Sîs, later Little Armenia] evacuated their homes and went as far as the mountainous region of the Greeks.^[19] This Sîsîyah was the city of Tall ʿAin-Zarbah and

was rebuilt in the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil by ‘Ali ibn-Yahya-l-Armani [the Armenian]. It was later ruined by the Greeks.

Antioch burnt. The one who burnt Antioch—condemned as it was to burning^[20]—in the land of the Greeks was ‘Abbâs ibn-al-Walîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik.

Tall Jubair. Tall Jubair was so called after a Persian from Antioch who fought a battle in it. The Tall lies less than 10 miles from Tarsûs.

Dhu-l-Kilâ’. The name of the fort known as dhu-l-Kilâ’ is really a corruption of dhu-l-Kilâ’ [the fort of the castles], which name was given to it because it was made up of three castles. The explanation of its name in the Greek tongue is "the fortress with the stars."

Kanîsat aş-Sulh. Kanîsat aş-Sulh [the church of peace] was so called because when the Greeks came to ar-Rashîd to capitulate, they made it their headquarters.

Marj Husain. Marj Husain was named after Husain ibn-Muslim al-Anţâki who fought a battle in it and defeated the enemy.

Ḍamâlu. In the year 163, al-Mahdi sent on a campaign his son, Hârûn ar-Rashîd, who laid siege to Ḍamâlu (colloquial Samâlu). Its people asked a promise of security for ten of their nobility including the Comes.^[21] Ar-Rashîd consented. One of their terms stipulated that they be never separated from one another. Therefore they were settled in Baghdâdh near Bâb ash-Shammâsiyah.^[22] Their quarter they called Samâlu, and it is still known as such. Others say that they surrendered to al-Mahdi who spared their lives and gathered them in that place, ordering that it be called Samâlu. According to ar-Rashîd's orders, those who were left in the fort were sold publicly.

One Abyssinian, who was heard cursing ar-Rashîd and the Moslems, was crucified on one of the towers of the fort.

‘Ain Zarbah and al-Hârûnîyah. Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥârith al-Wâsiṭi from al-Wâkidi:—In the year 180, ar-Rashîd ordered that the city of ‘Ain Zarbah [Anazarbus] be built and fortified. He summoned to it a regiment from Khurâsân and others, to whom he gave houses as fiefs. In the year 183, he ordered al-Hârûnîyah built. It was accordingly built and manned with a garrison and with volunteers that emigrated to it. The city was named after him. Others say that Hârûn started its erection in the caliphate of al-Mahdi, but completed it in his own caliphate.

Kanîsat as-Saudâ’. The city of Kanîsat as-Saudâ’ [black church] had been built by the Greeks of black stone since the earliest of days, and had an old fort that was destroyed in the general havoc. Ar-Rashîd ordered that this city be rebuilt and fortified. He also summoned to it troops, allowing them larger stipends. I was told by ‘Azzûn ibn-Sa’d, one of the inhabitants of the frontier region, that the Greeks once invaded it—as al-Ḳâsim ibn-ar-Rashîd was staying in Dâbiḳ—and carried away its cattle and a number of prisoners. They were pursued by the people of al-Maşşîṣah and its volunteers, who saved all that had been carried away and killed many of the Greeks, sending the rest of them back in distress and disorder. Then al-Ḳâsim sent some one to fortify the city, make repairs in it and increase its garrison. For this purpose some of az-Zutt, previously transplanted by al-Mu‘taşim to ‘Ain Zarbah and its environs from al-Baţâ’ih, which lay between Wâsiṭ and al-Başrah, and which they had conquered, were available.

Abu-Ishâk al-Fazâri's opinion on the land of ath-Thaghr. I was informed by abu-Şâlih al-Anţâki that abu-Ishâk al-Fazâri hated to buy land in the frontier region [*ath-Thaghr*] because he said, "Those who first wrested this land from the Greeks did not divide it among themselves, and it later passed to others. Thus it had been transmitted to others and attached to itself a suspicion that the wise man would do well to avoid."

Tithe-exemptions annulled by al-Mutawakkil. In *ath-Thaghr*, so many pieces of land were exempt from the tithe that the total income of tithes was diminished to such an extent that it could not meet the expenses. By al-Mutawakkil's orders, therefore, all these exemptions were in the year 243 abolished.

Footnotes

1. Ar. *thughûr*; see Işakhri, pp. 55–56.
2. ? Lacking in diacritical points.
3. "Gr. *Derbe* near the Cilician gates which were the chief mountain pass from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs into the territory of the Greeks"—Lane. See Caetani, vol. iii, p. 805.
4. Perhaps Bailân pass of to-day.
5. Hamadhâni, p. 112.
6. Pyramus river.
7. Read *mauḍi'aha* in place of *mauḍi'ahu*.
8. Mas'ûdi, vol. viii, p. 295.
9. Ar. *ghallah*, *i. e.*, rent due for houses built on the state property.
10. Işakhri, p. 63; Hauḳal, p. 121.
11. A place difficult of ascent.
12. Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, p. 196; ibn-Khurdâdhbih, p. 7.
13. Yâḳût, vol. iii. p. 745.
14. "193" in Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 179, line 19.
15. Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, pp. 26–27, 128.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
17. Ar. *mişr*.
18. City of peace, *i. e.*, Baghdad.
19. Yâḳût, vol. iii, p. 217, gives the date 93 or 94 and reads *a'âli ar-Rûm* instead of *a'la ar-Rûm*.
20. Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, p. 37: Said Makḥûl, "Four cities are of the cities of Paradise; Makkah, al-Madīnah, İliyâ' [Jerusalem] and Damascus; and four of the cities of fire: Antioch, aṭ-Ṭuwānah, Constantinople and San'â'."
21. Ar. *al-Ḳûmis* = a leader of two hundred: Zaidân, vol. i, p. 118; Ḳudâmah, pp. 255–256.
22. Le Strange, *Baghdâd*, p. 202.

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PART V

NORTHERN AFRICA

CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT AND AL-MAGHRIB [MAURITANIA]

'Amr moves against Egypt. After the battle of al-Yarmûk, 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi laid siege to Caesarea [Kaisâriyah]. When Yazîd ibn-abi-Sufyân assumed power, 'Amr left his son in his place at Caesarea and led, all of his own accord, an army of 3,500 to Egypt. 'Umar was angry because of it and wrote to him, rebuking and reprimanding him for following his own opinion, without consulting 'Umar, and ordering him to return home in case the message was received before his arrival in Egypt. 'Amr, however, received the message in al-'Arîsh.^[1] It is asserted by others that 'Umar wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi, ordering him to proceed to Egypt. 'Amr received the message as he was besieging Caesarea. The one who delivered the message was Sharîk ibn-'Abdah, to whom 'Amr gave 1,000 *dînârs*, which Sharîk refused to accept. 'Amr asked him to conceal the matter and not disclose it to 'Umar.

Al-Fusṭât. The advance of 'Amr against Egypt took place in the year 19. He first stopped at al-'Arîsh and then proceeded to al-Faramâ,^[2] in which were troops ready for the fight. 'Amr fought and defeated them, taking possession of their camp. Thence he advanced straight on to al-Fusṭât and camped at the myrtle gardens, as the people of al-Fusṭât had dug moats. The name of the city was Alyûnah,^[3] but the Moslems called it Fusṭât because they said, "This is the meeting place [Ar. *fusṭât*] of the people, and the place where they assemble." Others say that 'Amr pitched a tent [also *fusṭât*] in it, and it bore its name from it.^[4]

As 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi was besieging al-Fusṭât, he was joined by az-Zubair ibn-al-'Auwâm ibn-Khuwailid at the head of 10,000—others say 12,000 men—among whom were Khârijah ibn-Hudhâfah-l-'Adawi and 'Umair ibn-Wahb al-Jumâhî. Az-Zubair was on the point of leading an incursion and wanted to go to Antioch; but 'Umar said to him, "Abu-'Abdallâh, wouldst thou like to take the governorship of Egypt?" To this az-Zubair replied, "I do not care for it, but would like to go there on a holy war and co-operate with the Moslems. If I find that 'Amr has already reduced it, I would not interfere with his affairs, but would go to some sea-coast and keep post at it; but if I find him in the struggle, I shall fight on his side." With this understanding, he left.

Az-Zubair led the attack on one side, and 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi on the other. Finally az-Zubair brought a ladder and climbed on it until, with his sword unsheathed, he looked down upon the fort and exclaimed, "Allah is great!" and so did the Moslems exclaim and follow him up. Thus he took the fort by assault, and the Moslems considered it legal to take all that was in it. 'Amr made its holders *dhimmis*, imposed a poll-tax on their person and *kharâj* on their land, and communicated that to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb who endorsed it. Az-Zubair marked certain lots in Miṣr [Old Cairo] for himself [*ikhtaṭṭa*] and built a well-known mansion in which 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair resided when he invaded Ifrîkiyah^[5] in the company of ibn-abi-Sarḥ. The ladder which az-Zubair used is still in Miṣr.

'Affân ibn-Muslim from Hishâm ibn-'Urwah:—Az-Zubair was sent to Miṣr; and when he was told there were in it warfare and pest, he replied, "We have come here only for warfare and pest." The Moslems put ladders up and climbed on them.

‘Amr an-Nâkid from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi entered Egypt with 3,500 men. When ‘Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb heard about the situation in Egypt, he was affected with solicitude and fear and despatched az-Zubair ibn-al-‘Auwâm at the head of 12,000 men. Az-Zubair took part in the conquest of Miṣr and marked out in it certain lots.^[6]

The division of the land. ‘Amr an-Nâkid from Sufyân ibn-Wahb al-Khaulâni:—When we conquered Miṣr without making a covenant with it, az-Zubair rose and said to ‘Amr, "Divide it"; but ‘Amr refused. Then az-Zubair said, "By Allah, thou shouldst divide it as the Prophet divided Khaibar." ‘Amr wrote that to ‘Umar who wrote back, saying, "Leave it as it is, so that the descendants of the descendants^[7] may profit by it."

A tradition to the same effect was communicated to me by ‘Abdallâh ibn-Wahb on the authority of Sufyân ibn-Wahb.

‘Amr and az-Zubair conquer Egypt. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi entered Egypt at the head of 3,500 men. Just before that, ‘Umar was affected with solicitude and fear and sent az-Zubair ibn-al-‘Auwâm at the head of 12,000 men. Az-Zubair took part with ‘Amr in the conquest of Egypt and marked out for himself two lots in Miṣr and Alexandria.

Ibrâhîm ibn-Muslim al-Khawârizmi from ‘Abdallâh ibn-‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi:—The latter said, "There is a disagreement regarding the conquest of Miṣr: some say it was conquered by force, and others by capitulation. The fact is that my father [‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣi] arrived in it and was resisted by the people of Alyûnah. He finally took possession of it by force and led the Moslems in. Az-Zubair was the first to climb its fort. The chief of Miṣr said to my father, 'We have heard of what ye did in Syria and how ye assessed poll-tax on the Christians and Jews, leaving the land in the hands of its owners to utilize it and pay its *kharâj*. If ye treat us the same way, it would do you more good than to kill, capture and expel us.' My father consulted with the Moslems and they all advised him to accept the terms, with the exception of a few men who asked him to divide the land among them. Accordingly, he assessed on every adult, excepting the poor, two *dînârs* as poll-tax, and on every land-owner, in addition to the two *dînârs*, three *irdabbs* of wheat, two *kisṭs* of oil, two *kisṭs* of honey and two *kisṭs* of vinegar, to be given as a subsistence allowance to the Moslems, and gathered in the public house of provision [*dâr-ar-rizk*], where it is divided among them. A census was taken of the Moslems, and the inhabitants of Miṣr were required to provide every one of the Moslems with a woolen upper gown, an upper cloak or turban, breeches and a pair of shoes^[8] per annum. Instead of the woolen gown, a Coptic robe would do. To this end, a statement was written, in which it was stipulated that so long as they lived up to these terms, their women and children would neither be sold nor taken captives, and their possessions and treasures would be kept in their hands.^[9] The statement was submitted to ‘Umar, the 'Commander of the Believers,' who endorsed it. Thus, the whole land became *kharâj*-land. Because, however, ‘Amr signed the contract and the statement, some people thought that Miṣr was taken by capitulation."^[10]

After the king of Alyûnah had made arrangements for himself and for the people in his city, he made terms on behalf of all the Egyptians similar to the terms of Alyûnah. The Egyptians consented, saying, "If those of us who are protected by fortifications have accepted such terms, and were content with them, how much more should we be

content who are weak and have no power of resistance." *Kharâj* was assessed on the land of Egypt to the amount of one *dînâr* and three *irdabbs* of wheat on every *jarîb*, and two *dînârs* on every adult. The statement was submitted to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb.

The terms made with 'Amr. 'Amr an-Nâkid from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb:—Al-Muḳauḳis^[11] made terms with 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi, stipulating that 'Amr should let those of the Greeks go who wanted to leave, and keep those who wanted to stay, on certain conditions, which he specified, and that he would assess on the Copts, two *dînârs* per head. Hearing this, the king of the Greeks was enraged and sent his troops, who, closing the gates of Alexandria, announced to 'Umar their readiness for war. Al-Muḳauḳis presented himself before 'Amr and said, "I have three requests to make: do not offer to the Greeks the same terms thou hast offered me, because they have distrusted me; do not violate the terms made with the Copts, for the violation was not started by them ; and when I die, give orders that I be buried in a church at Alexandria (which he named)." 'Amr answered, "The last is the easiest^[12] for me."

Bilhîṭ, al-Khais, Sulṭais and Alexandria. Certain villages in Egypt resisted the advance of the Moslems, and 'Amr carried away some of their inhabitants as prisoners. These were the following: Bilhîṭ,^[13] al-Khais,^[14] and Sulṭais.^[15] Their captives were carried away to al-Madînah. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb sent them back and made them, together with the Coptic community, *dhimmis*. The covenant they had, they did not violate. The following is the report of the conquest of Alexandria made by 'Amr to 'Umar: "Allah has given to us the possession of Alexandria by force and against its will, without covenant or contract". According to Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb, however, the city was taken by capitulation.

The tax of Egypt. Abu-Aiyûb ar-Raḳḳi from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb: The *kharâj* and poll-tax which 'Amr raised from Egypt amounted to 2,000,000 *dînârs*; but that raised by 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-Abi-Sarḥ, 4,000,000. When 'Uthmân remarked to 'Amr, saying, "After thee the milch camels have yielded more milk", 'Amr replied, "This is because ye have emaciated their young".^[16]

In the year 21, 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi informing him of the straits in which the inhabitants of al-Madînah were, and ordering him to transport by sea to al-Madînah all the food he had collected as *kharâj*. Accordingly, the food with the oil was carried there; and when it reached al-Jâr,^[17] it was received by Sa'd al-Jâr.^[18] Later it was kept in a special house at al-Madînah and distributed among the Moslems by measure. At the time of the first insurrection, the supply was cut off. In the days of Mu'âwiyah and Yazîd, it was again carried to al-Madînah. Then it was cut off until the time of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân, after which it was carried until the caliphate of abu-Ja'far, or a little previous to that.

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb:—After the first peace was made, the tax-payers in Egypt made new terms in the caliphate of 'Umar, stipulating that instead of the wheat, oil, honey and vinegar they offered, they would pay two *dînârs* in addition to the other two *dînârs*. Each one thus was bound to pay four *dînârs*; and they consented to that and preferred it.

'Ain Shams, al-Faiyûm and other places reduced. Abu-Aiyûb ar-Raḳḳi from al-Jaishânî:—The latter said, "I heard it stated by a number of those who witnessed the conquest of Egypt that when 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi reduced al-Fuṣṭât, he despatched to 'Ain Shams^[19]

‘Abdallâh ibn-Ḥudhâfah as-Sahmi, who took possession of its land and made terms with the inhabitants of its villages similar to those of al-Fuṣṭât. Likewise ‘Amr despatched Khârijah ibn-Ḥudhâfah al-‘Adawi to al-Faiyûm,^[20] al-Ushmûnain, Ikhmîm, al-Basharûdât^[21] and the villages of upper Egypt, which he reduced on the same terms. ‘Amr also sent ‘Umair ibn-Wahb al-Jumâhî to Tinnîs, Dimyât, Tûnah, Damîrah, Shaṭa, Dikâhlâh,^[22] Bana and Bûṣîr, which he reduced on the same terms. ‘Amr also sent ‘Uḡbah ibn-‘Âmir al-Juhani (others say ‘Amr's freedman, Wardân after whom Sûḡ [market] Wardân in Egypt is named) to the rest of the villages in the lower part of the country; and he did the same. Thus did ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣî effect the conquest of all Egypt and make its land *kharâj*-land."

The Copts have no covenant. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Aiyûb ibn-abi-l-‘Âliyah's father:—The latter said, "I heard ‘Amr ibn-al-‘Âṣî say from the pulpit, 'I have occupied this position and am bound to none of the Egyptian Copts by covenant or contract. If I want, I can kill; if I want, I can take one-fifth of the possessions; if I want, I can sell captives. The people of Anṭâbulus are excluded because they have a covenant which must be kept'."

Al-Maghrib and Egypt taken by force. Al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Mûsa ibn-‘Ali ibn-Rabâḥ al-Lakhmi's father:—All al-Maghrib was taken by force.

Abu-‘Ubaid from aṣ-Ṣalt ibn-abi-‘Âṣim, the secretary of Ḥaiyân ibn-Shuraiḥ:—The latter said that he read the letter of ‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Aziz to Ḥaiyân, his *‘amil* over Egypt, stating that Egypt was taken by force, with no covenant or contract.

Poll-tax of the Copts not to be increased. Abu-‘Ubaid from ‘Ubaidallâh ibn-abi-Ja‘far:—Mu‘âwiyah wrote to Wardân, a freedman of ‘Amr, ordering him to increase the poll-tax of every Copt by one *ḵîrât*, but Wardân wrote back, "How can I increase it while it is stated in their covenant that their tax should not be increased?"

Egyptians overtaxed. Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d from ‘Abd-al-Ḥamîd ibn-Ja‘far's father:—The latter heard ‘Urwah ibn-az-Zubair say, "I spent seven years in Egypt and was married in it. I found its people exhausted, being burdened with more than they could bear. The country was conquered by ‘Amr through capitulation, covenant and something assessed on the inhabitants."

The statement of ‘Amr. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from ‘Uḡbah ibn-‘Âmir al-Juhani:—The Egyptians had a covenant and a contract. ‘Amr gave them a statement to the effect that they are secure with respect to their possessions, lives and children, and that none of them would be sold as slaves. He imposed on them a *kharâj* not to be increased, and promised to expel all fear of attack by an enemy. ‘Uḡbah added, "And I was a witness thereunto".

The division of the land. Al-Ḥusain ibn-al-Aswad from Sufyân ibn-Wahb al-Khaulâni:—The latter said, "At the conquest of Miṣr by us, which was effected without covenant, az-Zubair ibn-al-‘Auwâm rose and said, '‘Amr, divide it between us!' ‘Amr replied, 'By Allah, I will not divide it before I consult ‘Umar.' He wrote to ‘Umar, and the latter wrote back, 'Leave it as it is, so that the descendants of the descendants may profit by it.'"

Its kharâj. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Usâmah ibn-Zaid ibn-Aslam's grandfather:—In the year 20, 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi, accompanied by az-Zubair, subdued Egypt. When Egypt was conquered, the people made terms, agreeing to pay something he imposed on them, which was two *dînârs* on every man, excluding women and boys. The *kharâj* of Egypt during his governorship amounted to 2,000,000 *dînârs*; but later it reached 4,000,000.

Two dînârs on each Copt. Abu-'Ubaid from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—Al-Muḥaukis, the chief of Egypt, made terms with 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi, stipulating that each Copt pays two *dînârs*. Hearing this, Heraclius, the chief of the Greeks, was enraged with anger and sent the troops to Alexandria and closed its gates; but 'Amr reduced the city by force.

The poll-tax of the native village of umm-Ibrâhîm annulled. Ibn-al-Kattât, *i. e.*, abu-Mas'ûd, from ash-Sha'bi:—'Alî ibn-al-Ḥusain, or al-Ḥusain himself, interceded with Mu'âwiyah regarding the poll-tax of the fellow- villagers in Egypt of the mother of Ibrâhîm,^[23] the Prophet's son; and it was cancelled. The Prophet himself used to recommend that the Copts be favorably treated.

The Prophet recommends the Copts. 'Amr from Mâlik, and al-Laith from a son of Ka'b ibn-Mâlik:—The Prophet said, "If ye conquer Egypt, treat the Copts favorably, because they have *dhimma* and blood-relationship." It is stated by al-Laith that umm-Ismâ'îl^[24] was a Copt.

Umar confiscates 'Amr's possessions. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madâ'ini from 'Abdallâh ibn-al-Mubâarak:—'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb used to record the possessions of his *'âmil*s at the time of their appointment; and whatsoever was later added was partly or wholly confiscated by him. He once wrote to 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi, "It has become revealed that thou ownest commodities, slaves, vases and animals which thou didst not possess when thou wert made governor of Egypt." 'Amr wrote back, "Our land is a land of agriculture and trade; we, therefore, get as income more than what is necessary for our expenses." To this, 'Umar replied, "I have had enough experience with the wicked *'âmil*s. Thy letter is the letter of one disturbed because justice has been meted out to him. Therefore, my suspicion has been aroused against thee, and I have sent to thee Muḥammad ibn-Maslamah with a view to dividing with thee what thou hast. Reveal to him thy secret, and give out whatever he demands of thee; thereby thou wouldst be spared his severity. What is concealed has been revealed."^[25] Thus were 'Amr's possessions confiscated by 'Umar.

Al-Madâ'ini from 'Îsa ibn-Yazîd:—When Muḥammad ibn-Maslamah divided with 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi his possessions, 'Amr made this remark, "An age in which the son of Ḥantamah^[26] treats us in this manner is certainly an evil age. Al-Âṣi used to put on silk garments with brocade borders!" "Hush," said Muḥammad, "had it not been for this age of ibn-Ḥantamah which thou hatest, thou wouldst be found bending in the court-yard of thy house, at the feet of a goat, whose abundance of milk would please thee and scarcity would displease thee."^[27] "I beg thee by Allah," exclaimed 'Amr, "report not what I have just uttered to 'Umar. A conversation is always confidential." Muḥammad replied, "So long as 'Umar lives, I shall not mention anything that took place between us."

Egypt taken by force. 'Amr an-Nâkid from 'Abdallâh ibn-Hubairah:—Egypt was taken by force.

'Amr from ibn-An'am's grandfather (who witnessed the conquest of Egypt):—Egypt was taken by force without covenant or contract.

Footnotes

1. Al-Maḥrīzi, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 63 (Cairo, 1325) : "Rafī"; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Miṣr al-Hadīth*, vol. i, p. 77; "Rafī ... modern Raf", ten hours' journey from al-'Arīsh."
2. Pelusium. Maḥāsin, vol. i, p. 8.
3. Yâḳût, vol. i, pp. 355, 450.
4. Maḥrīzi, vol. ii, pp. 75–76.
5. Africa == Tunis. Ibn-'Adhâri, *al-Bayân al-Mughrib*, vol. i, pp. 3 seq.
6. Ar. *khiṭaṭ*. See Maḥrīzi, vol. ii, pp. 76 seq.
7. Ar. *ḥabal al-ḥabalāh*. See Muṭarrizi, p. 105 ; Caetani, vol. iv, p. 247; Maḥrīzi, vol. ii, p. 72, line 23; p. 73, line 25; *an-Nihâyah*, vol. i, p. 198.
8. Dozy, *Noms des Vêtements*, s. v. *jubbah*, *burnus*, *'amâmah*, *sirwâl* and *khuff*.
9. Gottheil, "Dhimmi and Moslems in Egypt", *O. T. and Semitic Studies*, vol. ii, p. 363.
10. Maḥrīzi, vol. ii, pp. 72–74.
11. Ibn-Ḳurḳub al-Yûnânî—perhaps Cyrus, the viceroy and archbishop of Alexandria under Heraclius. See Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 508, 521; *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, year 1003, p. 1606; Casanova, *Moḥammed et la Fin du Monde*, p. 26.
12. Maḥrīzi, vol. i, p. 263.
13. Cf. "Balhīb " in Yâḳût, vol. i, p. 733.
14. Butler, p. 289, and note; ibn-Duḳmâḳ, *Kitâb al-Intiṣâr li-Wâsiṭat 'Iḳd al-Amṣâr*, vol. v, p. 118 (Bûlâḳ, 1893).
15. Cf. Duḳmâḳ, vol. v, pp. 118–119.
16. Maḥrīzi, vol. i, p. 159.
17. Hamdâni, *Ṣifat Jazîrat al-'Arab*, p. 47, line 17 (ed. Müller).
18. Sa'd al-Jâri mentioned in Dhahabi, *al-Mushtabih*, p. 81; cf. ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii¹, p. 240; Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 6.
19. Heliopolis; confused by some historians with Bâb Alyûnah (Babylon); Butler, p. 212, note.
20. Maḥrīzi, vol. i, pp. 402–403.
21. Cf. Bakri, vol. i, p. 166.
22. Yâḳût, vol. ii, p. 581.
23. Mâriyah, the Copt; Nawâwi, p. 853.
24. The reference is to Hagar.
25. Freytag, *Prov.*, vol. i, p. 160, number 33.
26. 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb's mother; Nawâwi, p. 447.
27. Caetani, vol. iv, pp. 618–619.

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CHAPTER II

THE CONQUEST OF ALEXANDRIA

The battle of al-Kiryaun. When 'Amr ibn-al-Âsi conquered Mişr, he settled in it and wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaţţâb soliciting his orders to march against Alexandria [al-Iskandarîyah].^[1] 'Umar wrote and ordered him to do so; so 'Amr marched against it in the year 21, leaving as his substitute [lieutenant] over Mişr Khârijah ibn-Ḥudhâfah ibn-Ghânim ibn-Âmir ibn-'Abdallâh ibn-'Ubaid ibn-'Awîj ibn-'Adi ibn-Ka'b ibn-Lu'ai ibn-Ghâlib. In the meantime, those Greeks and Copts who lived below Alexandria had gathered and said, "Let us attack him in al-Fuṣṭât before he reaches here and makes an attempt on Alexandria." 'Amr met them at al-Kiryaun^[2] and defeated them with a great slaughter. In their ranks were men from Sakha, Bilhît, al-Khais and Sulţais, and others who came to their assistance and support.

Alexandria reduced. 'Amr kept his way until he arrived in Alexandria, whose inhabitants he found ready to resist him, but the Copts in it preferred peace. Al-Muḳauḳis communicated with 'Amr and asked him for peace and a truce for a time; but 'Amr refused. Al-Muḳauḳis then ordered that the women stand on the wall with their faces turned towards the city, and that the men stand armed, with their faces towards the Moslems, thus hoping to scare them [Moslems]. 'Amr sent word, saying, "We see what thou hast done. It was not by mere numbers that we conquered those we have conquered. We have met your king Heraclius, and there befell him what has befallen him." Hearing this, al-Muḳauḳis said to his followers, "These people are telling the truth. They have chased our king from his kingdom as far as Constantinople. It is much more preferable, therefore, that we submit." His followers, however, spoke harshly to him and insisted on fighting. The Moslems fought fiercely against them and invested them for three months. At last, 'Amr reduced the city^[3] by the sword and plundered all that was in it, sparing its inhabitants of whom none was killed or taken captive. He reduced them to the position of *dhimmis* like the people of Alyûnah. He communicated the news of the victory to 'Umar through Mu'âwiyah ibn-Ḥudaij al-Kindi (later as-Sakûni) and sent with him the [usual] fifth.

Some state that al-Muḳauḳis made terms with 'Amr to the effect that he should pay 13,000 *dînârs*, that those who prefer to leave Alexandria should leave, and those who prefer to stay should stay, and that two *dînârs* be assessed on every adult Copt. To this

end, 'Amr wrote a statement. He then left in his place over Alexandria 'Abdallâh ibn-Hudhâfah ibn-Kais ibn-'Adi ibn-Sa'd ibn-Sahm ibn-'Amr ibn-Huṣaiṣ ibn-Ka'b ibn-Lu'ai at the head of a cavalry guard of the Moslems, and departed for al-Fuṣṭât.^[4]

Manuwîl captures Alexandria. The Greeks wrote to Constantine, son of Heraclius, who was their king at that time, telling him how few the Moslems in Alexandria were, and how humiliating the Greeks' condition was, and how they had to pay poll-tax. Constantine sent one of his men, called Manuwîl^[5] [Manuel], with three hundred ships full of fighters. Manuwîl entered Alexandria and killed all the guard that was in it, with the exception of a few who by the use of subtle means took to flight and escaped. This took place in the year 25. Hearing the news, 'Amr set out at the head of 15,000 men and found the Greek fighters doing mischief in the Egyptian villages next to Alexandria. The Moslems met them and for one hour were subjected to a shower of arrows, during which they were covered by their shields. They then advanced boldly and the battle raged with great ferocity until the "polytheists" were routed; and nothing could divert or stop them before they reached Alexandria. Here they fortified themselves and set mangonels. 'Amr made a heavy assault, set the ballistae and destroyed the walls of the city. He pressed the fight so hard until he entered the city by assault, killed the fighters and carried away the children as captives. Some of its Greek inhabitants left to join the Greeks somewhere else; and Allah's enemy, Manuwîl, was killed. 'Amr and the Moslems destroyed the wall of Alexandria in pursuance of a vow that 'Amr had made to that effect, in case he reduced the city.

According to certain reports, this invasion took place in the year 23; and according to others, the insurrection took place in the years 23 and 25; but Allah knows best. 'Amr assessed on the land of Alexandria *kharâj*; and on its people, poll-tax.

Al-Mukaukis. Some report that al-Mukaukis forsook the people of Alexandria when they violated the covenant, but 'Amr reinstated him with his people on the terms of their first capitulation. Others assert that he died before this invasion.

Alexandria taken by capitulation. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz:—The latter said, "Not a town in al-Maghrib did we take by capitulation except three: Alexandria, Kafarîṣ and Sulṭais. 'Umar used to say, 'Whosoever of the inhabitants of these places accepts Islâm will be set free together with his possessions'."

How the dwellings were divided. 'Amr an-Nâḩid from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi conquered Alexandria, and some Moslems took up their abode in it as a cavalry guard. Later, they withdrew, after which they made an assault and hastened to secure dwellings. Some of them would come to the houses they once occupied and find them already held by a fellow Moslem. Regarding this, 'Amr remarked, "I am afraid the dwellings would fall into ruins if different ones of you should occupy them in turn." Consequently, when the invasion was made and the Moslems arrived in al-Kiryâun, he said, "Go with Allah's blessing. Whosoever of you sticks his lancet into a house, that house is his and his father's sons'." Thus, the Moslem would enter a house and stick his lancet into some apartment of it; then another would come and stand his lancet in the same house. The same house would thereby be in the possession of two or three persons,^[6] which they would occupy until their withdrawal, at which the Greeks would come and occupy it.

Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb used to say, "No money from the rent of these houses is legal.^[7] They can neither be sold nor bequeathed, but they are dwelling-places for the Moslems during the time they hold their post as guard."

The second conflict. During the second conflict with Alexandria, when Manuwîl, the Greek eunuch, came, the people closed the gates; but 'Amr reduced it and destroyed its wall.

'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd replaces 'Amr. No sooner had 'Amr returned to al-Fusât after assigning his freedman, Wardân, as governor of Alexandria, than he was dismissed. In the place of 'Amr, 'Uthmân appointed 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarh ibn-al-Hârith of the banu-'Amr ibn-Lu'ai,^[8] 'Uthmân's foster-brother. That took place in the year 25.

According to others, 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd was in charge of the *kharâj* of Egypt in behalf of 'Uthmân. Between 'Abdallâh and 'Amr, a verbal dispute arose and 'Abdallâh wrote and accused 'Amr. 'Amr was dismissed by 'Uthmân, who assigned 'Abdallâh to both functions, and wrote him saying that Alexandria was taken once by force and revolted two times, and ordering him to station in it a cavalry guard that would never depart from it, and to assign abundant subsistence allowances to the guard, and change its personnel once in every six months.^[9]

Ibn-Hurmuz. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâkidi:—ibn-Hurmuz al-A'raj al-Kâri [the lame "reader"] used to say, "Your best coast, from the standpoint of guard, is Alexandria." At last he left al-Madînah and joined the guard stationed in Alexandria, where he died in the year 117.

The capitation tax. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Mûsa ibn-'Ali's father:—The capitation tax from Alexandria was 18,000 *dînârs*; but when Hishâm ibn-'Abd-al-Malik became caliph, it amounted to 36,000.^[10]

'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd made governor. 'Amr from Yazîd ibn-abi-Habîb:—'Uthmân dismissed 'Amr ibn-al-'Âsi from Egypt and assigned in his place 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd. But when the Greeks occupied Alexandria, the Egyptians asked 'Uthmân to keep 'Amr until he was through with the fight against the Greeks, because he had special knowledge of warfare and inspired awe in the enemy. 'Uthmân did so; and 'Amr defeated the Greeks. 'Uthmân then wanted 'Amr to be in charge of the army, and 'Abdallâh in charge of the *kharâj*; but 'Amr refused, saying, "My case is that of one who holds the horns of the cow while the chief milks it." 'Uthmân then appointed ibn-Sa'd to the governorship of Egypt.

The Abyssinians of al-Bîma. For seven years after the conquest of Egypt, the Abyssinians of al-Bîma^[11] kept up their resistance, and could not be subjugated because of the water with which they flooded their thickets.

The second conquest of Alexandria. 'Abdallâh ibn-Wahb from Mûsa ibn-'Ali's father:—'Amr conquered Alexandria for the second time by capitulation, which conquest took place in the caliphate of 'Uthmân after the death of 'Umar.

Footnotes

1. Duḡmâḡ, vol. v, p. 121.
2. Chaereum, Butler, pp. 288–289; al-Iḡrîsi, *Şifat al-Maghrib, as-Sûḡân, Mişr w-al-Andalus*, p. 160.
3. Cf. ibn-Iyâs, *Ta'riḡh Mişr*, vol. I, p. 22.
4. Maḡrîzi, vol. i, pp. 263 *seq.*
5. Butler, pp. 468–475.
6. Maḡrîzi, vol. i, p. 269: "tribes".
7. Duḡmâḡ, vol. v, p. 118.
8. Nawâwi, pp. 345–347.
9. Maḡrîzi, vol. i, p. 270.
10. Maḡrîzi, vol. i, p. 269.
11. Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 1106.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 5/Chapter 3

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CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF BARĀḤAH AND ZAWĪLAH

BarĀḤah makes terms. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Abdallāh ibn-Hubairah:—After reducing Alexandria, 'Amr ibn-al-Āṣi led his army intent upon the conquest of al-Maghrib [Mauritania] until he arrived in BarĀḤah, the chief city of Anṭābulus,^[1] whose inhabitants made terms on a poll-tax of 13,000 *dīnārs* to be raised as the price of those of their children whom they desired to sell.^[2]

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Abdallāh ibn-Hubairah:—After investing and fighting the people of Anṭābulus and its city, BarĀḤah,^[3] which lay between Egypt and Ifrīḳiyah [Africa == Tunis], 'Amr ibn-al-Āṣi made terms with them, stipulating that they pay a poll-tax which might include the price of those of their children whom they desired to sell. 'Amr wrote a statement to that effect.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Ishāḵ ibn-'Abdallāh ibn-abi-Farwah:—The inhabitants of BarĀḤah used to send their *kharāj* to the governor of Egypt without having anyone come to urge them for it.^[4] Their land was the most fertile land of al-Maghrib, and it never saw an insurrection.

Al-Wāḳidi states that 'Abdallāh ibn-'Amr ibn-al-Āṣi used to say, " Had it not been for my possessions in al-Ḥijāz, I would live in BarĀḤah, because I know of no place that is more safe or isolated than it."

'Amr's report to 'Umar. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Mu'āwiyah ibn-Ṣāliḥ:—'Amr ibn-al-Āṣi wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb informing him that he had appointed 'Uqbah ibn-Nāfi' al-Fihri governor of al-Maghrib and that the latter had reached as far as Zawīlah. He also informed him that peace prevailed among all between Zawīlah^[5] and BarĀḤah, that their allegiance was strong and that the Moslems among them had paid *ṣadaqah* and the "people of the covenant" acknowledged the poll-tax imposed. 'Amr also wrote that he had assessed on the inhabitants of Zawīlah and on those living in the region between his town and Zawīlah, what he saw would be tolerated by them, and ordered all his *āmils* to collect *ṣadaqah* from the rich to be distributed among the poor, and poll-tax from the *dhimmis* to be carried to 'Amr in Egypt, and to raise from Moslem lands the tithe and half the tithe, and from those who capitulated, what had been agreed upon.

The origin of the Berbers. Bakr ibn-al-Haitham once told me, "I asked 'Abdallâh ibn-Sâlih regarding the Berbers,^[6] and he said, 'They claim to be the descendants of Barr ibn-Ḳais; but Ḳais had no son with the name, Barr. In fact they are descended from the race of the giants [Philistines] against whom David fought. In ancient times, their home was Palestine; and they were tent-dwellers. Later on, they came to al-Maghrib, where they multiplied'."

The Berbers of Luwâtah. Abu-'Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi made this a condition on the Berber inhabitants of Luwâtah^[7] at Barḳah. "Ye have to sell your children and wives in order to pay the poll-tax on you." Commenting on this, al-Laith said, "If they were slaves, that would not be a legal thing for them to do."

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azîz wrote regarding the Luwâtah women, "Whoever has a Luwâtah woman, let him either be engaged to her through her father, or return her to her people." Luwâtah^[8] is a village inhabited by Berbers who had a covenant.

Footnotes

1. Pentapolis. Khurdâdhbih, p. 91. *Cf. Caetani*, vol. iv, p. 534.
2. Caetani in vol. iv, p. 533, nota, thinks it must have meant the right to offer to the Moslems their children as slaves according to a fixed price.
3. Barca. Butler, p. 429.
4. As-Suyûṭi, *Husn al-Muḥâḍarah*, vol. i, p. 86.
5. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2646.
6. See article on Berbers in the *Encyclopedia of Islâm*.
7. Butler, p. 430.
8. *Cf.* Khurdâdhbih, pp. 90 and 91; ibn-Khaldûn, *Kitâb al-'Ibar fi-Aîyâm al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam w-al-Barbar*, vol. ii², p. 128 (Bûlâḳ, 1284).

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CHAPTER IV

THE CONQUEST OF TRIPOLI

Bakr ibn-al-Haitham from 'Ali ibn-abi-Talhah:—In the year 22,^[1] 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi advanced to Tripoli.^[2] He met resistance but reduced the place by force, carrying away many loads of fine silk brocade from its merchants. This booty he sold and divided its price among the Moslems. He wrote to 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, "We have arrived in Tripoli which lies nine days from Ifrîkiyah. If the 'Commander of the Believers' thinks it best to allow us to invade the latter, it will be well." 'Umar wrote back, ordering him not to go, saying, "This should not be called Ifrîkiyah, but Mufarriḳah,^[3] which is treacherous to others, and to which others are treacherous." 'Umar wrote that because its inhabitants used to pay something to the king of the Greeks and often treated him treacherously, while the king of al-Andalus, who had made terms with them, treated them treacherously. These facts were known to 'Umar.

According to a tradition communicated to me by 'Amr an-Nâḳid on the authority of certain *sheikhs*, Tripoli was taken by 'Amr ibn-al-Âṣi through a covenant made by him.

Footnotes

1. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. i, p. 124 note: "year 23".
2. Tripolis; Ar. Aṭrâbulus. Yâḳûṭ, vol. i, p. 309; Ya'ḳûbi, *Buldân*, p. 346.
3. Pun on words. Mufarriḳah means causing deviation from the right course.

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The Origins of the Islamic State/Part 5/Chapter 5

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CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF IFRÎKIYAH

Uthmân reinforces ibn-Sa'd. When 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ was appointed governor over Egypt and al-Maghrib, he sent out the Moslems in cavalry detachments, and they plundered as far as the extremities of Ifrîkiyah [modern Tunis]. 'Uthmân ibn-'Affân first hesitated to attack Ifrîkiyah; but after consultation, he made up his mind to do so, and wrote to 'Abdallâh in the year 27 (others say 28, still others 29), ordering him to lead the attack, and reinforced him with a large army in which were Ma'bad ibn-'Abbâs ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam ibn-abi-l-'Âṣi ibn-Umaiyyah and his brother al-Ḥârith ibn-al-Ḥakam, 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair ibn-al-'Auwâm, al-Miswar ibn-Makhramah ibn-Naufal ibn-Uhaib ibn-'Abd-Manâf ibn-Zuhrah ibn-Kilâb, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Zaid ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, 'Abdallâh ibn-'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, 'Âṣim ibn-'Umar, 'Ubaidallâh ibn-'Umar, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-abi-Bakr, 'Abdallâh ibn-'Amr ibn-al-'Âṣi, Busr ibn-Abi-Arṭâh ibn-'Uwaimir al-'Âmiri, and abu-Dhu'aib Khuwailid ibn-Khâlîd al-Hudhali, the poet. Abu-Dhu'aib died in this campaign and ibn-az-Zubair had charge of the burial. In this campaign, a great host of the Arabs from the environs of al-Madînah took part.

The magnates of Ifrîkiyah make terms with 'Abdallâh. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from 'Abdallâh ibn-az-Zubair:—The latter said:—"Uthmân ibn-'Affân sent us on an expedition against Ifrîkiyah, whose patrician exercised authority from Tripoli to Tanjah [Tangiers]. 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ marched against him and occupied 'Aḳûbah. After a few days' fight, I was enabled to kill, by Allah's help, the patrician. His army took to flight and was torn to pieces. Ibn-abi-Sarḥ sent detachments and scattered them all over the country; and they carried away a large booty and drove before them all the cattle they could. Seeing that, the great men of Ifrîkiyah met together and offered 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd 300 quintals^[1] of gold provided he would let them alone and leave their land. Their request was granted."

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from ibn-Ka'b:—'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ made terms with the patrician of Ifrîkiyah, stipulating that the latter should pay 2,500,000 *dînârs*.

Uḳbah ibn-Nâfi'. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from Mûsa ibn-Damrah-l-Mâzini's father:—When 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd made terms with the patrician of Ifrîkiyah, he returned to Egypt without appointing anyone to the governorship of Ifrîkiyah, which at that time had no meeting-place^[2] or central town. When 'Uthmân was murdered and Muḥammad

ibn-abi-Hudhaifah ibn-ʿUtbah ibn-Rabīʿah ruled over Egypt, he sent nobody to Ifrīkiyah; but when Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān came to power, he assigned over Egypt Muʿāwiyah ibn-Hudaij as-Sakūni who, in the year 20, sent ʿUkbah ibn-Nāfiʿ ibn-ʿAbd-Ḳais ibn-Lakīth al-Fihri to Ifrīkiyah. ʿUkbah invaded it and parceled it out into lots among the Moslems.

ʿUkbah sent Busr ibn-abi-Arṭāh^[3] to a castle in al-Ḳairawān, which he reduced, killing and capturing many. It is now known as Ḳalʿat Busr and lies near a city called Majjānah, near the silver mine.

I heard it said that Mūsa ibn-Nuṣair sent Busr, who was then 82 years old, to this castle; and the latter reduced it. This Busr was born two years before the Prophet's death. Others than al-Wāḳidi claim that Busr was one of those who transmitted traditions from the Prophet; but Allah knows better.

Various governors. It was stated by al-Wāḳidi that ʿAbdallāh ibn-Saʿd held the governorship until Muḥammad ibn-abi-Hudhaifah assumed authority over Egypt, which he had made to rise in rebellion against ʿUthmān. Later on, ʿAli assigned Ḳais ibn-Saʿd ibn-ʿUbādah-l-Anṣārī as governor of Egypt, after which he dismissed him and chose Muḥammad ibn-abi-Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq. The latter he also dismissed and assigned Mālik al-Ashtar, who was taken sick^[4] at al-Ḳulzum [Suez]. ʿAli once more assigned Muḥammad ibn-abi-Bakr, who was later killed by Muʿāwiyah ibn-Hudaij and burned in a donkey's belly.^[5]

ʿAmr ibn-al-ʿĀṣī ruled in the name of Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān. He died in Egypt on the feast of the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān [*al-fīṭr*] in the year 42 (others say 43), and was succeeded by his son ʿAbdallāh whom Muʿāwiyah dismissed. Muʿāwiyah assigned ibn-Hudaij, who spent four years in Egypt; at the close of which he made a razzia and plundered. After that he returned to Egypt and sent there ʿUkbah ibn-Nāfiʿ al-Fihri. Others say that ʿUkbah was appointed by Muʿāwiyah over al-Maghrib; and so he invaded Ifrīkiyah at the head of 10,000 Moslems and reduced it. He parceled out its Ḳairawān^[6] in lots among the Moslems, the site being a thicket covered with tamarisk and other trees and which nobody could attempt because of the beasts, snakes and deadly scorpions. This ibn-Nāfiʿ was a righteous man whose prayer was answered. He prayed to his Lord, who made the scorpions disappear; even the beasts had to carry their young and run away.

Al-Wāḳidi says, "I once said to Mūsa ibn-ʿAli, 'Thou hast seen the buildings in Ifrīkiyah that are connected together and that we still see to-day. Who was it that built them?' And Mūsa replied, 'The first one was ʿUkbah ibn-Nāfiʿ al-Fihri who marked out the plans for the buildings, himself built a home, and the Moslems at the same time built houses and dwelling-places. He also built the cathedral mosque that is in Ifrīkiyah.'"

It was in Ifrīkiyah that Maʿbad ibn-al-ʿAbbās fell a martyr in the campaign of ibn-abi-Sarḥ during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. Others say he met natural death during the war; but that he fell a martyr is the more authentic report.

According to al-Wāḳidi and others, Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān dismissed Muʿāwiyah ibn-Hudaij^[7] and conferred the governorship of Egypt and al-Maghrib on Maslamah ibn-Mukhallad al-Anṣārī,^[8] who appointed his freedman, abu-l-Muhājir, governor of al-Maghrib. When Yazīd ibn-Muʿāwiyah, however, came to power, he reinstated ʿUkbah

ibn-Nâfi' in his position, and the latter invaded as-Sûs al-Adna,^[9] which lay behind Tanjah. There he went about without being molested or fought by anybody. At last he departed.

Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah died and his son Mu'âwiyah ibn-Yazîd, surnamed abu-Laila, was proclaimed caliph. Mu'âwiyah called a general public prayer meeting, and resigned the caliphate. He retired to his home where he died after two months. Later came the rule of Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam and the insurrection of ibn-az-Zubair.

Then came 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân to power; and everything went smoothly with him. He assigned as *âmil* over Egypt his brother 'Abd-al-'Azîz who put over Ifrîkiyah Zuhair ibn-Ḳais al-Balawi.^[10] Zuhair conquered Tûnis and left for Barkah. Hearing that a band of Greeks had landed from their ships and were doing mischief, he went against them with a cavalry detachment. On meeting them, he fell a martyr with his companions. His tomb is still there. His and his companions' tombs are called *Ḳubûr ash-Shuhadâ'* [the martyrs' tombs].

Then Ḥassân ibn-an-Nu'mân al-Ghassâni^[11] became ruler. He made an incursion against al-Kâhinah,^[12] the queen of the Berbers. He was defeated by her and came and occupied certain castles within the territory of Barkah. These castles were included within one whose roof was an arched structure upon which one could cross over. Since then, these castles were called *Ḳuşûr Ḥassân*.^[13]

Ḥassân made another incursion, killed the queen and carried into captivity many Berbers whom he sent to 'Abd-al-'Azîz. Regarding these captives, the poet, abu-Mihjan Nuṣaib, used to say, "I have seen in 'Abd-al-'Azîz's home Berber captives who have faces more beautiful than which I never saw."

According to ibn-al-Kalbi, Hishâm assigned Kulthûm ibn-'Iyâḍ ibn-Waḥwah al-Ḳushairi to the governorship of Ifrîkiyah, whose people rebelled and put him to death. Ibn-al-Kalbi also states that Ifrîkiyah was subdued in pre-Islamic times by Ifrîkîs ibn-Ḳais ibn-Ṣaifi-l-Ḥimyari and was named after him. He killed Jurjîr^[14] [Gregory] its king and said regarding the Berbers, "How barbarous they are!" Hence the name, Berbers.

Al-Ḳairawân. According to a tradition communicated to me by certain inhabitants of Ifrîkiyah on the authority of their *sheikhs*, when 'Uḳbah ibn-Nâfi' al-Fihri wanted to build al-Ḳairawân,^[15] he began to think regarding the site of the mosque, and he saw in a dream as if a man called to prayer at a certain spot where he later erected the minaret. When he awoke, he started to erect the boundary marks where he had seen the man stand, after which he built the mosque.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi:—Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash'ath al-Khuzâ'fi ruled over Ifrîkiyah in the name of abu-l-'Abbâs "the Commander of the Believers", and repaired the city of al-Ḳairawan with its mosque. He was later dismissed by al-Manṣûr, who assigned 'Umar ibn-Ḥafṣ Hizârmard^[16] in his place.

Footnotes

1. Ar. *ḳintâr* = "1,200 *dînârs*, and in the language of Barbar = 1,000 *mithḳâls* of gold or silver"; *T. ʿA*.
2. Ar. *ḳairawân*. See De Goeje's edition of Balâdhuri, gloss., pp. 92–93.
3. Maḳrîzi, vol. i, p. 272, does not have "abi" in the name.
4. Maḥâsin, vol. i, pp. 116–117.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 125; Khaldûn, vol. ii², p. 182.
6. ʿAdhâri, vol. i, p. 12.
7. ʿAdhâri, vol. i, p. 14.
8. Suyûṭî, *Husn*, vol. ii, 7.
9. *i. e.*, the nearer (== Darʿah) in distinction from al-Aḳṣa—the farther; Yaʿḳûbi, *Buldân*, pp. 359–360.
10. ʿAdhâri, vol. i, p. 16.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 18 *seq.*
12. Fem. of *kâhin* = soothsayer.
13. ʿAdhâri, vol. i, p. 21.
14. *Cf.* ʿAdhâri, vol. i, pp. 5–6.
15. Iṣṭakhri, pp. 39–40.
16. ʿAdhâri, vol. i, p. 64. "ʿAmr ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-Ḳabîṣah."

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONQUEST OF ṬANJAH [TANGIERS]

ACCORDING to al-Wâkidi, ‘Abd-al-‘Azîz ibn-Marwân made Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair,^[1] a freedman of the banu-Umayyah and who came originally from ‘Ain at-Tamr (some say he belonged to the clan of Arâshah, a branch of the Bali; others say, to the clan of Lakhm) governor over Ifrîkiyah. According to others, Mûsa ruled over it in the time of al-Walîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik, in the year 89. He reduced Ṭanjah and occupied it, he being the first to occupy and mark it in lots for the Moslems. His horsemen went as far as as-Sûs al-Adna,^[2] which was over twenty days' journey from as-Sûs al-Akṣa [the farther as-Sûs == modern Morocco]. Thus he subjugated as-Sûs al-Akṣa, carrying many captives from the inhabitants and receiving homage. His *‘âmil* collected from them *ṣadaqah*. Later he assigned Ṭârik ibn-Ziyâd, his freedman, over it [Ṭanjah and environs] and departed to Kairawân Ifrîkiyah.

Footnotes

1. ‘Adhâri, vol. i, pp. 24 *seq.*
2. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 27.

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PART VI

ANDALUSIA

CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF ANDALUSIA

Târiḳ crosses the Straits. According to al-Wâḳidi, the first to invade Andalusia^[1] was Ṭâriḳ ibn-Ziyâd,^[2] the *âmil* of Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair, and that was in the year 92. Ṭâriḳ was met by Ulyân, the commander of the Majâz^[3] al-Andalus, whom he promised safety provided he would transport him with his companions to Andalusia in his ships. When he arrived there, Ṭâriḳ was resisted by the people, but he effected the conquest of the land in the year 92.^[4] The king of Andalusia, it is claimed, belonged to the Ashbân [Spanish] people whose origin was from Iṣbahân.^[5] Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair wrote Ṭâriḳ a severe letter for risking the lives of the Moslems and following his own opinion without consulting Mûsa as regards the campaign. In the meantime, he ordered him not to go beyond Cordova [Ar. Ḳurṭubah].^[6] Mûsa himself proceeded to Cordova in Andalusia; and Ṭâriḳ sought and was reinstated in his favor. Ṭâriḳ then reduced the city of Ṭulaiṭulah,^[7] the capital of the kingdom of Andalusia and which lies next to France [Ar. Faranjah]. Here he carried off a wonderful table^[8] which Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair, on his return in the year 96, offered as a present to al-Walîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik in Damascus, who was sick at that time. When Sulaimân ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik came to power, he demanded 100,000 *dînârs* from Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair; but when Yazîd ibn-al-Muhallab interceded in Mûsa's behalf, he was spared.

Ismâʿîl governor of al-Maghrib. When ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz became caliph, he appointed over al-Maghrib Ismâʿîl ibn-ʿAbdallâh ibn-abi-l-Muhâjir, a freedman of the banu-Makhzûm, who behaved according to the best standards and invited the Berbers to Islâm. ʿUmar ibn-ʿAbd-al-ʿAzîz also wrote them letters to that effect, which were read to them in the different districts by Ismâʿîl. Thus did Islam prevail over al-Maghrib.

Yazîd as governor. When Yazîd ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik assumed power, he appointed Yazîd ibn-abi-Muslim, a freedman of al-Ḥajjâj ibn-Yûsuf, over Ifrîḳiyah and al-Maghrib. The latter arrived in Ifrîḳiyah in the year 102, and had his guard of Berbers. On the hand of every guard, he inscribed the word "Guard",^[9] which act displeased them and made them impatient with him. Some of them entered into a conspiracy and agreed to kill him. One evening, he went out for the sunset prayer, and they killed him in his place of worship. Yazîd then appointed Bishr ibn-Ṣafwân al-Kalbi. Bishr beheaded ʿAbdallâh ibn-Mûsa ibn-Nuṣair in revenge for Yazîd [ibn-abi-Muslim] on the ground that he was suspected of killing him and arousing people against him.

Bishr and other governors. Hishâm ibn-ʿAbd-al-Malik again appointed Bishr ibn-Ṣafwân.^[10] The latter died in al-Ḳairawân in the year 109. Hishâm appointed in his place ʿUbaidah ibn-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân al-Ḳaisi,^[11] after whom Hishâm appointed ʿAbdallâh^[12] ibn-al-Ḥabḥâb, a freedman of the banu-Salûl. ʿAbdallâh sent ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ḥabîb ibn-abi-ʿUbaidah ibn-ʿUḳbah ibn-Nâfiʿ al-Fihri to the invasion of as-Sûs^[13] and the land of as-Sûdân. The victories won by ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmân were unparalleled, and among the booty he carried away were two of the women slaves of that region, each with one bosom. These people are known by the name of Tarâjân.

After ibn-al-Ḥabḥâb, Hishâm appointed Kulthûm ibn-‘Iyâd al-Ḳushairi who arrived in Ifrîkiyah in the year 23^[14] and was killed in it. Hishâm appointed after Kulthûm, Ḥanzalah ibn-Ṣafwân al-Kalbi,^[15] a brother of Bishr, who fought against the Kharijites^[16] and died there while he held the governorship.

When al-Walîd ibn-Yazîd ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik assumed power, ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ḥabîb al-Fihri rose against him. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân was in good favor with the inhabitants of this frontier region [northern Africa and al-Maghrib], because of the good deeds done in it by his grandfather ‘Uḳbah ibn-Nâfi’. Consequently, ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân subdued this region; and Ḥanzalah departed, leaving ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân over it.

When Yazîd ibn-al-Walîd assumed the caliphate, he did not send to al-Maghrib any *‘âmil*.

Then came Marwân ibn-Muḥammad to power. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân ibn-Ḥabîb communicated with him and professed homage and sent him presents. Marwân had a secretary, Khâlîd ibn-Rabî‘ah-l-Ifrîkî, who was a special friend of ‘Abd-al-Ḥamîd ibn-Yaḥya and kept up a correspondence with him. Marwân confirmed ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân as governor of the region, and appointed after him Ilyâs ibn-Ḥabîb, and after that, Ḥabîb ibn-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmân. After this, the Ibâḍîtes^[17] and the Berbers of the Khârijites had the upper hand.

Towards the end of abu-l-‘Abbâs' caliphate, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzâ‘î came to Ifrîkiyah as its ruler at the head of 70,000 men, according to others, 40,000. His rule lasted for four years, during which he repaired the city of al-Ḳairawân. At last, the troops of the city rose against him together with others. I heard it reported that the inhabitants of the town and the troops that were in it rose against him and he held out against them in his castle for 40 days, during which his followers from Khurâsân, and others who owed him allegiance, came to his help. Consequently, he succeeded in laying hold on those who fought against him. He then went over the names and put to death every one whose name was Mu‘âwiyah, Sufyân, Marwân or any other name that is borne by anyone of the banu-Umayyah, sparing only those who had different names. He was thereupon dismissed by al-Manşûr.

‘Umar ibn-Ḥafş ibn-‘Uthmân ibn-Ḳabîṣah ibn-abi-Ṣufrah-l-‘Ataki, known as Hizârmard, was then made governor by al-Manşûr, who had great admiration for him. ‘Umar entered Ifrîkiyah and launched in it a campaign that carried him to the extremity of the land of the Berbers, where he built a city which he called al-‘Abbâsiyah. Abu-Ḥâtim as-Saddarâti-l-Ibâḍî (one of the inhabitants of Saddarâtah and a freedman of the Kindah) fought against Hizârmard; and the latter suffered martyrdom together with some members of his family. The frontier region broke out in revolt, and the city he had established was destroyed.

Hizârmard was succeeded by Yazîd ibn-Ḥâtim ibn-Ḳabîṣah ibn-al-Muhallab,^[18] who rebelled at the head of 50,000 men and was accompanied to Jerusalem by abu-Ja‘far al-Manşûr who spent large sums of money on him. Yazîd advanced until he met abu-Ḥâtim in Tripoli [Ar. Aṭrâbulus]. He killed him and made his entrance to Ifrîkiyah, where everything went smoothly with him.

Yazîd ibn-Ḥâtim was succeeded by Rauḥ ibn-Ḥâtim, and the latter by al-Faḍl ibn-Rauḥ, who was slain by the troops that rose up against him.

I was informed by Ahmad ibn-Nâkid, a freedman of the banu-l-Aghlab, that al-Aghlab ibn-Sâlim at-Tamimi,^[19] of Maru ar-Rûdh,^[20] was among those who came from Khurâsân with al-Musauwidah.^[21] Al-Aghlab was appointed by Mûsa-l-Hâdi governor of al-Maghrib. When al-Aghlab came to Ẓairawân Ifrîqiyah, Ḥarîsh, who was once in the army of the frontier region of Tûnis, gathered a body of men, with whom he marched against him and besieged him. Al-Aghlab later made a sortie, and in the battle which followed was hit by an arrow and fell dead. Neither his followers nor those of Ḥarîsh knew of it. At last Ḥarîsh was defeated with his army and were pursued by the men of al-Aghlab for three days, during which many were killed, including Ḥarîsh himself, who fell in a place called Sûḵ al-Aḥad. Al-Aghlab after this was called "the martyr" [*ash-Shahîd*].

Ibrâhîm ibn-al-Aghlab, one of the leading men of the Egyptian army, arose one day with twelve men and carried away from the treasury the exact value of their subsistence allowances and no more. They ran away to a place called az-Zâb which lay at a distance of more than ten days from al-Ẓairawân. The *ʿâmil* of this frontier region, at that time under ar-Rashîd Hârûn, was Harthamah ibn-Aʿyan.^[22] Ibrâhîm ibn-al-Aghlab assumed the commandership of the troops that were in that region and offered presents to Harthamah, showing him kindness and telling him in writing that he did not rebel or disobey, but was rather forced to what he did by urgency and necessity. Harthamah assigned him to be governor of the region and intrusted to him its affairs.

When Harthamah's resignation from the governorship of this region [Ifrîqiyah] was accepted, he was succeeded by ibn-al-ʿAkki.^[23] whose rule was so bad that the people rose up against him. Ar-Rashîd consulted Harthamah regarding a man whom he could assign to that post and intrust to him its management, and Harthamah advised him that Ibrâhîm be reconciled, won over and appointed over the region. Accordingly, ar-Rashîd wrote to Ibrâhîm, stating that he had forgiven him his crime, excused his fault and thought it wise to assign him to the governorship of al-Maghrib as an act of favor, expecting to receive from him loyalty and good counsel. Ibrâhîm became ruler of the region and managed its affairs thoroughly.

One of the city troops named ʿImrân ibn-Mujâlid rose in a revolt and was joined by the army of the region, who demanded that their subsistence allowances be given them, and laid siege to Ibrâhîm in al-Ẓairawân. Soon after that, those who pay allowances and stipends came bringing money from the *kharâj* of Egypt; and when the dues were given, they [the rebels] dispersed themselves. Ibrâhîm built al-Ḳaṣr al-Abyaḍ [the white citadel] two miles to the *qiblah* of al-Ẓairawân, and parceled out the land around it among the Moslems, who established themselves and their residences there. Thus did that section become populated. Ibrâhîm also built a cathedral mosque with gypsum and brick and marble columns, and covered it with cedar wood, making it 200 *dhirâʿ*s in length and almost 200 *dhirâʿ*s in width. He bought slaves to the number of 5,000, emancipated them and made them settle around it. This city he called al-ʿAbbâsiyah, which is still flourishing to-day.

Al-Abbâsiyah. Muḥammad ibn-al-Aghlab ibn-Ibrâhîm ibn-al-Aghlab^[24] built in the year 239 a city near Tâhart^[25] and named it al-ʿAbbâsiyah, too. This city was destroyed by Aflah ibn-ʿAbd-al-Wahhâb al-Ibâdi, who wrote to the Umayyad chief of Andalusia, informing him of his act in order to win his favor. The Umayyad chief sent him 100,000 *dirhams*.

Bârah. There lies in al-Maghrib a land known as al-Arḍ al-Kabîrah^[26] [the big land], situated at a distance of 15 days, more or less, from Barkah. In it lies a city on the coast, called Bârah, whose inhabitants were Christians, but not Greeks. This city was invaded by Ḥablah,^[27] the freedman of al-Aghlab, who failed to reduce it. It was later invaded by Khalfûn al-Barbari (supposed to have been a freedman of the Rabî'ah) who reduced it in the early part of al-Mutawakkil's caliphate.

Al-Mufarraġ ibn-Sallâm. After Khalfûn there arose one called al-Mufarraġ ibn-Sallâm who conquered and brought under his control 24 forts. He then forwarded the news of the situation to the Master of the post^[28] in Egypt, and told him that he and his followers could conduct no [public] prayer unless the *imâm* confirms him over his district and makes him its ruler, so that he may not be included in the category of usurpers. Al-Mufarraġ erected a cathedral mosque. Finally his men rose up against him and killed him.

Sûrân. He was followed by Sûrân who sent his messenger to al-Mutawakkil, the "Commander of the Believers," asking for a confirmation and a letter of appointment to a governorship. Al-Mutawakkil, however, died before his messenger departed with the message to Sûrân.

Al-Muntaşir-Billâh died after holding the caliphate for six months. Then came al-Musta'în-Billâh Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Mu'taşim who ordered his *âmil* over al-Maghrib, Ūtâmish, a freedman of the "Commander of the Believers", to confirm Sûrân; but no sooner had the messenger started from Surra-man-ra'a, than Ūtâmish was slain.^[29] That region was after that governed by Waşîf, a freedman of the caliph, who confirmed Sûrân in his position.

Footnotes

1. Al-Andalus, Spain. Ya'kûbi, *Buldân*, pp. 353–355.
2. 'Adhâri, vol. ii, pp. 11 seq.
3. "The straits separating Morocco from Andalusia," al-Marâkishi, *al-Mu'jib fi-Talkhîṣ Akhbâr al-Maghrib*, p. 6.
4. 'Adhâri, vol. ii, pp. 5 seq.
5. Ispahan of Persia. The Arabs were misled to this conclusion by the accidental similarity between the two names. See Mas'ûdî, vol. ii, pp. 326–327.
6. Idrîsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, pp. 208–214.
7. Toledo. Muḥaddasi, p. 235; Khurdâdhbih, p. 89.
8. "Once owned by king Solomon", Marâkishi, p. 8.
9. Ar. *ḥarasi*. 'Adhâri, vol. i, p. 34.
10. 'Adhâri, vol. i, p. 35.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 36: "as-Sulami".
12. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 38: "'Ubaidallâh"; cf. Maḥâsin, vol. i, p. 319.
13. Idrîsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p. 165.
14. 'Adhâri, vol. i, p. 41.
15. Al-Kindi, *Kitâb al-Wulât w-al-Ḳuḍât*, pp. 71–72, 80–82 (ed. Guest).

16. *Al-Khawârij*. Rebels led by the heretic 'Ukkâshah aṣ-Ṣufri; see 'Adhâri, vol. i, pp. 45–47.
17. Ash-Shahrastâni, *Kitâb al-Milal w-an-Niḥal*, p. 100 (ed. Cureton).
18. Kindi, pp. 111–117.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
20. Hamadhâni, *Buldân*, pp. 319–322.
21. The partisans of the Abbasid dynasty, so called because they wore black clothes.
22. Kindi, p. 136.
23. 'Adhâri, vol. i, p. 80.
24. 'Adhari, vol. i, p. 107.
25. Ṭabari, vol. iii, p. 562.
26. Idrîsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p. 56.
27. "Ḥayah" in Athîr, vol. vi, p. 370.
28. *Ṣâhib al-barîd*. Ibn-aṭ-Ṭikṭaka, *al-Fakhri*, p. 129.
29. Ṭabari, vol. iii, pp. 1512, 1513.

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PART VII

ISLANDS IN THE SEA

CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF CERTAIN ISLANDS IN THE SEA

Sicily. The first to invade Sicily^[1] was Mu'âwiyah ibn-Ḥudaij al-Kindi^[2] in the days of Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân. It was continually invaded after that. The descendants of al-Aghlab ibn-Sâlim al-Ifrîkî conquered more than 20 cities in it, which are still in the hands of the Moslems. In the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Aghlab reduced in it the Yânah castle and Ghalyânah^[3] fortress.

It is stated by al-Wâḳidi that 'Abdallâh ibn-Ḳais ibn-Makhlad ad-Dizakî plundered Sicily and carried off idols of gold and silver studded with pearls, which he sent to Mu'âwiyah. Mu'âwiyah sent them to al-Baṣrah to be carried into India and sold there with a view to getting a higher price for them.

Rhodes. Mu'âwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyân sent expeditions by sea and by land. He sent to Rhodes^[4] Junâdah ibn-abi-Umaiyaḥ-l-Azdi. Junâdah was one of those on whose authority traditions were reported. He had chance to meet abu-Bakr, 'Umar and Mu'adh ibn-Jabal, and died in the year 80. Junâdah took Rhodes by force. Rhodes was a thicket in the sea. In pursuance of Mu'âwiyah's order, Junâdah caused Moslems to settle in it. This took place in the year 52.

Rhodes is one of the most fertile of all islands, and is about sixty miles in size. It is rich in olive trees, vineyards, fruits and fresh water.

Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from al-Wâḳidi and others:—The Moslems occupied Rhodes for seven years, living in a fort made for them. At the death of Mu'âwiyah, Yazîd wrote to Junâdah ordering him to destroy the fort and return. Mu'âwiyah used to alternate its occupants, making them live there in turns. Mujâhid ibn-Jabr^[5] lived in it and taught the Koran.

Arwâd. In the year 54, Junâdah ibn-abi-Umaiyaḥ reduced Arwâd,^[6] and Mu'âwiyah made the Moslems settle in it. Among those who took part in conquering it was Mujâhid and Tubai',^[7] a son of Ka'b al-Aḥbâr's^[8] wife. It was here that Mujâhid taught Tubai' the Koran. Others say that he did it in Rhodes. This Arwâd is an island lying near Constantinople [al-Ḳusṭanṭîniyah].

Crete. Junâdah led a razzia against Crete [Iḳrîṭish],^[9] a part of which he conquered at the time of al-Walîd. Later, the island was lost to the Moslems. In the caliphate of ar-Rashîd it was invaded again by Ḥumaid ibn-Ma'yûḳ al-Ḥamdâni, who reduced a part of it. In the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn, it was invaded by abu-Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn-'Îsa-l-Andalusi, known by the name of al-Iḳrîṭishi, who first reduced one fort and occupied it. Then he kept on reducing one part after another until none of the Greeks were left. He also dismantled their forts.

Footnotes

1. Ar. Siḳilliyah. Idrîsi, "Italy", in *Nuzhat al-Mushtâḳ fi-Ikhtirâḳ al-Âfâḳ*, pp. 57–58 (Rome, 1878).
2. Kindi, pp. 17–19, 27–30.
3. Cf. Idrîsi, "Italy", p. 49; Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 60.
4. Rûdis. See Kindi, p. 38.
5. Kindi, p. 39.
6. Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 163.
7. Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 163; Dhahabi, p. 69.
8. A Jewish rabbi of Ḥimyar converted to Islâm in the time of ‘Umar. Muir, *Annals*, p. 236, note 1.
9. Idrîsi, "Italy", p. 19; Rustah, p. 85; "Iḳrîṭīyah".

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PART VIII

NUBIA

CHAPTER I

TERMS MADE WITH NUBIA

Uḡbah leads the attack. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from abu-l-Khair:—When the Moslems subdued Egypt, 'Amr ibn-al-Āṣi sent to the surrounding villages, in order to overrun and pillage them, a detachment of cavalry under 'Uḡbah ibn-Nâfi' al-Fihri (Nâfi' being a brother of al-Āṣi on his mother's side). The cavalry entered the land of Nubia^[1] as the summer expeditions of the Greeks do. The Moslems met in Nubia determined resistance. They were subjected to such severe showers of arrows until most of them were wounded and had to return with many wounds and blinded eyes. Therefore were the Nubians called the "archers of the eyes".

The terms made. This state of affairs continued until 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ ruled over Egypt. The Nubians asked for peace and conciliation from 'Abdallâh, who granted their request, the terms being that they pay no tax but offer as a present three hundred slaves per annum; and that the Moslems offer them as a present food equivalent to the value of the slaves.

The Nubians as archers. Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd from a *sheikh* of the tribe of Ḥimyar:—The latter said, "I have been to Nubia twice during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭâb, and I never saw a people who are sharper in warfare than they. I heard one of them say to the Moslem, 'Where do you want me to hit you with my arrow?' and in case the Moslem would disdainfully say, 'In such a spot', the Nubian would never miss it. They were fond of fighting with arrows; but their arrows would scarcely ever hit on the ground.^[2] One day, they arrayed themselves against us and we were desirous to carry the conflict with the sword ; but they were too quick for us and shot their arrows, putting out our eyes. The eyes that were put out numbered 150. We at last thought that the best thing to do with such a people was to make peace. We could carry very little booty away from them; and their ability to inflict injury was great. 'Amr, however, refused to make peace with them and went on contending against them until he was dismissed and was succeeded by 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ, who concluded peace with them."

According to al-Wâḳidi, Mu'âwiyah ibn-Ḥudaij al-Kindi lost his eye in Nubia and thus became one-eyed.

The legality of selling their children as slaves. Abu-'Ubaid al-Ḳâsim ibn-Sallâm from Yazîd ibn-abi-Ḥabîb:—The latter said, "Between us and the black tribes [Ar. *asâwid*], no treaty or covenant exists. Only a truce was arranged between us, according to which we agreed to give them some wheat and lentils, and they to give us slaves. It is all right to buy their slaves from them or from others."

Abu-'Ubaid from al-Laith ibn-Sa'd:—The latter said, "The terms we made with the Nubians stipulated only that we neither fight against them nor they against us, that they give slaves and we give them their value in terms of food. If they desire, therefore, to sell their wives or children, there is no reason why they should not be bought."

In a report of abu-l-Bukhturi and others, it is stated that 'Abdallâh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ made terms with the Nubians to the effect that they give four hundred slaves per year, whom they shall bring forth and for whom they shall receive food in exchange.

The caliph al-Mahdi ordered that Nubia be held responsible every year for 360 slaves and one giraffe, and that they be given wheat, vinegar, wine, clothes and mattresses or the value thereof.

The Nubians recently claimed that the tribute^[3] is not due on them every year, and that it was demanded from them in the caliphate of al-Mahdi, at which time they told the caliph that the tribute was a part of what they took as slaves from their enemies and therefore they had, if they could not get enough slaves, to use their own children and offer them. Al-Mahdi ordered that they be tolerated, and that the tribute of one year be considered as if for three. No confirmation, however, could be found in the registers of al-Ḥaḍrah,^[4] but it was found in the register in Egypt.

Al-Ḳummi in al-Bujah. Al-Mutawakkil ordered one, Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbdallāh, known as al-Ḳummi, to be sent and put in charge of al-Maʿdin^[5] in Egypt. He also put him in charge of al-Ḳulzum [Suez], the road of al-Ḥijāz, and the furnishing of guides to the Egyptians when on holy pilgrimage. Arriving in al-Maʿdin, he conveyed provisions in ships from al-Ḳulzum to the land of al-Bujah. He then proceeded to a sea-coast, called ʿAidhāb,^[6] where the ships met him. With these provisions, he and his followers were strengthened and fed until they came to the castle of the king of al-Bujah. Al-Ḳummi attacked him in small force, and the king of al-Bujah made a sally with his numerous men on camels fastened with girths. Al-Ḳummi brought bells and put them on his horses. As soon as the camels heard the bell sounds, they ran away with the al-Bujah men over hills and valleys. The chief of al-Bujah was killed and was succeeded by his sister's son,^[7] whose father was one of the kings of al-Bujah. He sued for a truce, which al-Mutawakkil granted only on condition that he [the chief] should tread on his [al-Mutawakkil's] carpet. Accordingly, he came to Surra-man-raʿa and made terms in the year 241, agreeing to pay tribute in money and slaves. He was then sent back with al-Ḳummi. Thus, the people of al-Bujah are in a state of truce in which they pay tax and do not prevent the Moslems from working in the gold mine, which terms are mentioned in the conditions imposed upon their chief.

Footnotes

1. An-Nābah. See Idrīsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p. 19.
2. *i. e.* they scarcely ever missed their aim.
3. Ar. *baḳṭ*, Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii, pp. 42, 53.
4. Perhaps al-Khaḍrā'. See Idrīsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p. 84; Hamadhāni, *Buldān*, pp. 79–80.
5. The mine land. Maḳrīzi, vol. i, pp. 313, 318; Masʿūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 330.
6. Idrīsi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p. 27.
7. Maḳrīzi, vol. i, p. 317: "his brother's son"; *cf.* Quatremère, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 136.

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CHAPTER II

THE *ḲARÂṬĪS*^[1]

THE Greeks used to get the *ḳarâṭīs* from Egypt,^[2] and the Arabs used to get the *dīnârs* from the Greeks. ‘Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân was the first to inscribe on the upper part of these fabrics^[3] such phrases as "Declare: Allah is one!" and others with the name of Allah. One day, he received from the Byzantine king a message, saying, "You have recently introduced upon your *ḳarâṭīs* some inscription that we hate. If you leave that out, well and good; otherwise, you shall see on the *dīnârs* the name of your Prophet associated with things you hate." This was too much for ‘Abd-al-Malik, who hated to abolish a worthy law that he had established. He thereupon sent for Khâlid ibn-Yazîd ibn-Mu‘âwiyah and said to him, "O abu-Hâshim! It is a calamity!" Khâlid replied, "Be free from your fright, 'Commander of the Believers'; declare the use of their *dīnârs* illegal; strike new coinage in place of them, and let not these infidels be free from what they hate to see on the fabrics." "Thou hast eased my mind," said ‘Abd-al-Malik, "may Allah give thee ease!" He then struck the *dīnârs*.

According to ‘Awânah ibn-al-Ḥakam, the Copts used to inscribe the word "Christ" at the top part of the *ḳarâṭīs*, and to ascribe divinity to him (may Allah be highly exalted above that!); and they used to put the sign of the cross in place of "In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful". That is why the Byzantine king was disgusted and his anger was aroused with the change that ‘Abd-al-Malik introduced.

According to al-Madâ‘ini, it was stated by Maslamah ibn-Muḥârib that Khâlid ibn-Yazîd advised ‘Abd-al-Malik to declare the use of the Greek *dīnârs* illegal, to prohibit their circulation and to stop the sending of the *ḳarâṭīs* to the Byzantine empire. Accordingly, no *ḳarâṭīs* were carried there for some time.

Footnotes

1. Rolls of papyrus for writing; also, cloth of Egyptian fabric used for carrying vases or clothes. Zaidân, *Ta‘rîkh at-Tamaddun*, vol. i, p. 103; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, pp. 187–190, yr. 1908.
2. Al-Kindi, *Faḍâ‘il Miṣr*, p. 209, lines 9–10 (ed. Oestrup).

3. Ar. *ṭawâṃîr*. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

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